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ABSTRACT

The Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia, begun in 1962 and concentrated in rural areas for the benefit of adults, was evaluated in a study of 466 program participants and 66 additional adult villagers. The study focused on student achievement, teaching methods, benefits experienced by participants, and the literacy campaign's role within a larger socioeconomic and political context. Results indicate that students became literate in one to two years of participation. However, individual students said they had not experienced benefits from their literacy skills. Reading in Amharic was taught by synthetic and analytic methods, with the influence of traditional teaching methods obvious. While motivation for sending children to school was strong, adults said it was seldom possible for them to attend themselves. In the case of women and girls, tradition was probably a major obstacle to attendance. (MSE) (Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse on Literacy Education)

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Margareta Sjöström and Rolf Sjöström

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LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENT

A study of Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia

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Umeå Universitet
Pedagogiska institutionen

Margareta Sjöström and Rolf Sjöström

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ABSTRACT

The problem of illiteracy has been the object of many studies during recent decades. In Ethiopia, a country which reports one of the lowest literacy rates in Africa, the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign (YDLC) was started in 1962. Its activities were concentrated to rural areas and directed primarily towards adults. The present study is an evaluation of the Campaign. The investigation was conducted between 1974-1976 with the purpose of describing and analysing Campaign activities, focussing on student achievement, the teaching process, and benefits experienced by participants of the Campaign. Another important objective was to consider the role of the Campaign within a wider socio-economic and political context. The main sample consisted of 466 literacy students in eight different schools from the regions of Wollo, Wollega, Shoa and Gamu Gofa. An additional group of 66 adult villagers also took part in the interview studies. In addition to the interviews, researchers methodology included achievement testing and classroom observations. The results of our study indicate that students became literate after one to two years at the literacy school. However, individual participants stated that they had not experienced substantial benefits arising from their literacy skills. When students were taught to read in Amharic campaign teachers used a combination of synthetic and analytic methods. The influence of traditional reading methods was clearly visible. Motivation for sending children to school appeared fairly strong, but adults declared that it was seldom possible for themselves to attend school. Contrary to what one might expect traditional values did not seem to be the reason for this. In the case of women and girls, however, tradition was probably a major obstacle. YDLC as an educative phenomenon is also discussed in an overall development perspective. A critical appraisal of evaluative strategies for development programmes is included.

Key words: Adult education, Development, Education for women, Ethiopia, Evaluation, Literacy, Literacy methods, Motivation, Rural education

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PREFACE

This book is the result of collaboration between individuals and institutions in Sweden and Ethiopia concerned with education and development. The research has been financed by the Church of Sweden Mission (CSM), the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies and the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (Sarec). We want to express our sincere thanks to these institutions.

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We also received vital assistance from several institutions in Ethiopia, a few of which are mentioned here: our host the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus; the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts; the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute; the Central Statistical Office; the National University and the Campaign for Development through Cooperation.

Most of all we want to thank the people in the Ethiopian villages where we conducted our study. Without their generous cooperation this study would never have been possible.

Also from the very beginning of our project we have received invaluable encouragement and support from Egil Johansson at the University of Umeå. We are further indebted to our advisors, Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman and Sten Henrysson, both at the Department of Education, University of Umeå. They have provided invaluable inspiration and constructive criticism. Thor Egerbladh, Sigbrit Franke-Wikberg and Ingemar Wedman are other members of the Department who have given us many useful suggestions and comments. Furthermore we want to thank Mats Hamrén who has assisted us with the computer-aided data processing and given us much valuable advice. To all our friends and colleagues at this department we give our heartfelt thanks for their moral support and encouragement.

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We also like to thank Menkir Esayas for translating the Abstract into Amharic.

Finally, to our children Lena, Maria and Stefan; thank you for putting up with two parents dragging you all over the world in pursuit of research ambitions. This has indeed been an enterprise involving the whole family.

The present book is the outcome of close cooperation between the two authors from the very beginning of the study. Consequently it is difficult to give a detailed specification of the contribution of each author. For the theoretical perspectives introduced in Chapter 1 as well as the conclusions and suggestions presented in Chapter 8 we are equally responsible. Chapters 2 and 6 are written by Margareta Sjöström, and Rolf Sjöström is the author of Chapters 5 and 7. To Chapters 3 and 4 both of us have contributed. Rolf Sjöström is, however, responsible for a major part of Chapter 3, while the same is true of Margareta Sjöström with regard to Chapter 4.

INTRODUCTION

The present dissertation is based on an evaluative study of the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign, YDLC, Ethiopia. The campaign was initiated in 1962. Parent organization was the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. YDLC's operations were spread out over practically the whole of the country with emphasis on isolated rural tracts. The campaign was the largest non-governmental literacy venture in Ethiopia. During 1974/75 a total of 151 000 persons received education in 1672 schools. A process of handing over the schools to local Peasant Associations was begun in 1975.

The evaluation activities started in 1972. A first phase was an exploratory study conducted in December 1972 - January 1973 (Sjöström & Sjöström, 1973), followed by a field phase from August 1974 to June 1976 (Sjöström & Sjöström, 1977). The evaluation was undertaken under the auspices of the Church of Sweden Mission, and financially supported by the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA.

The evaluative assignment implied the following activities:

- to carry out an evaluation of YDLC by studying the effectiveness of instruction in terms of student achievement over a period of time, and by studying the teaching process,

- to study relations between achievement and characteristics of the learner and his environment. Key issues in this context were motivational factors, and recruitment of adults, especially women,

- to provide information for continued campaign planning.

Subsequently the evaluation assignment was translated into a plan guiding the evaluation study, an account of which forms the core of the present dissertation.

The design of the evaluation programme was influenced by trends in pedagogic research at that time. The pedagogic debate in Sweden in the late sixties and the early seventies was much concerned with effectiveness and how to induce reluctant students to accept the knowledge selected and presented by educational institutions. See for instance Hultin, B.(1968), Hultin, M. (1966), Lundgren (1979), Naeslund (1974), SÖ (1970), Wallin (1968). Educational research from this period deals to a large extent with the classroom situation, the teacher's role and how to become an effective instructor. These topics have been treated by among others Gage (1963), Gustafsson (1977), Lundgren (1979) and Travers (1973).

Educational planning in non-industrialized countries during this period treated education as a necessary instrument for development. According to World Bank statistics the developing countries spent an average of 18% of their national budget on education (Levin et al., 1979). International organizations talked optimistically about the near future when illiteracy would be wiped out. Literacy campaigns were established in most of the less developed countries, though resources were scarce (Hummel, 1977; Husén 1980).

During the seventies the prevailing educational optimism of the sixties has gradually been replaced by a more critical attitude to education. The role played by structural factors in a society and the relevance of educational content have become crucial factors in the debate.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe and analyse the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign along two dimensions:

- The efficiency of the campaign in terms of student achievement over time; the teaching process and actual benefits for the individual of literacy skills.

- The role of the campaign within a socio-economic and political context.

The first part of the purpose is closely related to the evaluation study as it was planned in 1973. The second part represents an expansion of the evaluation. As the evaluation study progressed practical experiences in the field, as well as continued readings, lead us to look at the object of our study in a wider perspective. Thus we have found it necessary to pay attention to the historical, political and social situation in Ethiopia, as well as to examine goals and intentions behind the literacy campaign. The introduction of theoretical perspectives in Chapter 1, the historical and economic exposé in Chapter 2, and the discussion of goals and intentions in Chapter 7, reflect the broadened research perspective outlined above.

Organization of the text

In Part I of the present text an introduction is given to key concepts of the study; development and literacy. The role of education in a developmental process is discussed (Chapter 1). A historical overview is given as background to the recent political development in Ethiopia. Education in Ethiopia is introduced, both in a traditional and a modern context (Chapter 2).

Part II presents the theoretical premises of the YDLC evaluation. Sample, instruments and procedure are described (Chapter 3). Part III treats the three empirical studies, dealing with achievement in literacy, teaching method, and attitudes to education (Chapters 4-6). In Part IV finally, are discussed motives and goals of YDLC and its parent organization the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, ECMY. Final conclusions and implications for further research are presented (Chapters 7-8).

PART ONE

Chapter 1

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT - A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

As will be shown later (Chapter 7) Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign was founded on the premise that education is a necessary component in the process of development of man and his surroundings. In the present text literacy education is viewed from two different angles. The first is the way the campaign functions as an educational system. The second angle, where the concept of development is actualized, is the role of the campaign in a socio-economic and political context. We therefore find it necessary to pay attention to the meaning of development.

THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

The modern concept of development dates from the postwar period. In the immediate postwar years problems and needs of the Less Developed Countries (LDC) had not yet been fully perceived by Western countries. One reason was that many of the LDC's were still under colonial rule and therefore could not plead their own cause. Moreover they had relatively good access to investment capital, since they had been able to build up their foreign exchange reserves during the war. A free world trade was assumed to benefit the LDC's as well as the industrialized countries (Anell & Nygren, 1978; Ehrenpreis & Engellau, 1976; SOU 1977:13).

The unfolding of development theories during the postwar period was influenced by a growing interest for empirical studies of development problems, and by attempts to analyse the concept from a structural point of view (Hettne, 1973). The effect has been a gradually widened perception of the meaning of development.

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Development appears as a broad and complex concept, containing components from societal as well as economic theories. Generally it connotes positive change and a Western outlook in terms of sophisticated technology, large-scale industrial operations and economic growth. It has sometimes been perceived as contradictory to traditions (Adams, 1977; Hettne & Wallensteen, 1978; Knutsson, 1968; Laudicina, 1973).

Modernization is a notion which is closely related to development. It appears that modernization is virtually equivalent to Western ideas of development. Central to the concept is also the view of the West as a model for non-modern societies (Blomström & Hettne, 1981).

Inkeles & Smith (1974) discuss the concept of modernization from national and individual perspectives. In their list of characteristics of a modern nation, mass education is included together with for instance urbanization and industrial development. They maintain that modernization of the individual has to run parallel to that of society, and regard the role of schooling as vital in this respect. The opinion expressed by Inkeles & Smith reflects the normative aspect of modernization.

The idea about how man is to become modern shows influence from a dualist development mode, according to which societies in developing countries are divided into a traditional and a modern sector (Torp, 1977). To become modern is then equivalent to a transfer from the traditional sector to the modern one.

Economic growth is a conception, which has been of crucial importance in societies within the industrialized world, and this notion has also permeated present development thinking in LDC's (Dore, 1976 a). Discussing the Western model of development Hettne & Wallensteen (1978) write:

"The central idea of this perspective is the metaphor of growth. Thus, development is conceived of as organic, immanent, directional, cumulative, irreversible and purposive. Furthermore, it implies structural differentiation and increasing complexity" (p. 44).

A noted proponent for the growth philosophy in developing countries is the economist W.A. Lewis (1971), who advocates a market economy combined with certain supportive measures as most favourable for development. He advances the notion that a surplus of man-power exists in the traditional, agricultural sector of a developing economy, and that such man-power resources should be transferred to the dynamic industrial sector. Foreign capital is considered a requirement for development. It should be observed, however, that Lewis discusses the concept of development in terms of economic growth without much consideration for distribution of the surplus, or variations between regions within a country. Neither does he consider the consequences of political instability or administrative deficiencies, which are realities in many developing countries (Blomström & Hettne, 1981).

The growth dogma is still prevailing in planning for development. But there has been a strong reaction against this philosophy during the last decades, possibly induced by the fact that in spite of considerable growth in many countries unequality is still widespread among the masses. The most forceful opposition has been manifested in Latin America and the West Indies.

A point of departure for this criticism has been that the Western modernizational model has failed to bridge tha gap between LDC's and industrialized countries. According to the opposing school development is a process which should be defined and generated by each specific country (Adams, 1977). In this context the concept of self-reliance is introduced. Self-reliance is actualized in relation to dependency theories. The dependency model is to some extent rooted in conflict theory, and gives a radical view of development. According to this school, development and underdevelopment could be explained by existing structural relations between units in a certain economical system. The relationship between industrialized and underdeveloped countries is described among others by Andre Gunder Frank (1967) who has become one of the most well-known proponents of this school. He contends that in a capitalistic system the underdevelopment of certain countries or areas is a prerequisite for the development of others.

Frank goes on to propose that the explanation for underdevelopment can be found by studying three contradictions within the capitalistic system. The first of these is identified in the monopolistic structure of capitalism. The second contradiction is the polarization that always occurs, according to Frank, between metropoles and satellites. Thirdly, Frank states that as long as the structural preconditions of capitalism are present in the system, it is not possible for the satellite to escape from the state of underdevelopment, no matter how many social reforms are proclaimed or development programmes are launched. Frank repudiates the dualistic model for explanation of underdevelopment, but declares that underdevelopment should be viewed as part of a global capitalistic system.

Amin (1972) has further developed the theory and related it to the situation of the African continent. Like Frank he emphazises the effects of a country's relation of dependency to a foreign economy.

Frank has been criticized for neglecting class aspects of society, when he attempts to explain underdevelopment by prevailing market conditions, colonization and the terms of trade forced upon developing countries by the well-to-do countries. His theory has also been criticized on the grounds that it only attempts to explain the mechanism of underdevelopment, but fails to indicate how the problem of underdevelopment should be solved.

Dependency theories have been the object of heated debate and criticism. See for instance Blomström & Hettne (1981). Nonetheless they have been of great importance for creating a constructive debate about development models. Their most important contribution is probably that they have brought to focus and illuminated inherent weaknesses in the modernizational paradigm and forced developmentalists to reconsider the relevance of a Western model for developing countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

The case of Ethiopia could serve as an illustration of the two different developmental approaches discussed in this section; the modernizational growth paradigm applied during the imperial era to promote development in the modern sector, and the socialist approach with elements of self-reliance advocated by the present government. The two different development approaches in Ethiopia, before and after the revolution in 1974, are further discussed in Chapter 2. Since the evaluative study accounted for in this text was started during the former political system and completed during and after the revolution, we feel that the two different schools of development should be paid attention to.

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Background

The role of education for promoting development has been a recurrent issue in the debate during the last decades. See for instance Comparative Education Review (1977) and Dore (1976 a). The key question becomes how development is defined. When development was defined as economic growth the positive role of education appeared uncontroversial. As Kazamias & Schwartz (1977) put it:

> *"Developmentalists also held the view that education was a key factor in improving the conditions of people, or, to quote a frequently used phrase, that 'education is the key that unlocks the door to modernization'"* (p. 1970).

An educational endeavour in the world during the twentieth century has been to establish universal basic education. The fifties and the sixties represent the era of educational reforms in affluent countries. Reforms were aimed at education for all, scholastic democracy, equality and increasing industrial productivity. The period of large educational investments and lofty expectations was succeded in the late sixties and during the seventies by growing disappointment and pessimism. Education had neither brought about the equalizing effects nor the continued economic growth that had been expected.

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Concerning developing countries there were certain complications which deserve to be noted. Nothwithstanding that most colonized areas had undergone transition to independent nations by the end of the sixties their schools continued to mirror content and organization of the former metropoles. A middle class was trained which formed a semi-elite in their respective countries/societies. Education had a strong theoretical accent, which lead to underemployment for graduates. Basic education in agrarian countrysides was neglected compared to ample educational opportunities in urban areas (Hummel, 1977; Levin at al., 1979). Still another problem which was beginning to attract attention was educational wastage manifested in absenteeism, dropout and repetition of grades (Chaibderraine, 1978; Faure et al., 1972).

As education expanded during the postwar period different theoretical schools dealing with the relationship between education and development have emerged. Across the various disciplines involved there appears to exist a pervasive dichotomy of opinions, reflected in the structural-functional versus conflict theories.

The functional approach

Structural/functional (S/F) theories dominated the educational debate during the fifties and sixties. Structural/functionalism as a theoretical framework for analysis of the relationship between education and development derives from the works of the American sociologist Talcott Parsons. It was introduced in comparative education by in the first place C.A. Andersson and Philip Foster (Karabel & Halsey, 1977; Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977).

The role of education according to S/F theories is to assist society in maintaining social equilibrium. Schools are expected to adapt constantly to other systems in society. It is assumed that conflicts within society are avoidable and undesirable, and that harmony is possible and advantageous. According to the S/F perspective the issue of equal distribution is attended to by reforms within society. The implication for educational policy is to endeavour to make schools more efficient in producing people to fit the already-determined social needs (Kazamias & Schwartz, 1977).

The S/F approach presupposes a society characterized by market economy and a highly technologized production apparatus. Economic growth is viewed as the key to development. Human capital theory (Schultz, 1961) plays an important role within this philosophy. This theory regards the human individual as any other tool for production. Education is seen as a productive investment in a capital of human knowledge and skills, which is thought to lead to increased individual productivity as well as national economic growth (Carnoy, 1977).

Underneath S/F theories lies the thinking of the neo-evolutionists, implying that all changes are positive and take place in a stepwise and piecemal way (Beeby, 1966; Paulston, 1976).

Functional theories carry strong liberalistic overtones in their belief in the rational behaviour of individuals. Consensus regarding national ideology is also assumed. From the point of view of S/F theorists inequality between individuals is an integral part of society. Davis (1966) contends that:

> "*Social inequality is... an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons. Hence every society, no matter how simple or complex, must differentiate persons in terms of both prestige and esteem and must therefore possess a certain amount of institutionalized inequality*" (p. 367-368).

Karabel & Halsey (1977) in a summary of the critique of S/F theories cite critics like Collins, Bowles and Gintis pointing out the risk for exaggerating the role of technology and of neglecting the importance of class conflicts. Another critic is Young (1971), who draws attention to the fact that functionalists do not pay sufficient attention to the content of education.

In a critical discussion of human capital theory, Dore (1976 b) points to the highly complex relationships between educational qualifications and individual earnings - and by extension economic development. Ten different mechanisms illuminating the correlation between schooling and social achievement are identified. These mechanisms, Dore contends, have not been clearly perceived because economists have failed to differentiate between mechanisms which are at play in active, fluid labour markets and those which operate within bureaucratic organizations. Dore further maintains that there has been an unfounded assumption that societies differ very little in the way various mechanisms operate. In particular have differences between industrial and developing countries been neglected. Dore also refers to radical criticism of human capital theory implying that the crucial investment is not one of cognitive or mental abilities, but rather one of social attitudes like the acceptance of discipline and a concern with external rewards such as money.

The value-neutrality ascribed to functionalism has been challenged by Barber (1972) He points out that functionalism is pervaded by instrumental values, such as stability and efficiency, which gives it a static and politically conservative temper. Moreover, functionalism tends to describe radical changes in negative terms.

According to Paulston (1976) the influence of S/F theories on educationalists has lead to an over-emphasis on education as a solution to social and economic problems in developing countries, which has had negative effects for employment and created a "white collar proletariat". The same problem is discussed by Dore (1976 a) and Karabel & Halsey (1977).

The conflict approach

The second main perspective for analysis of relations between school and society is offered by the conflict approach. These theories derive from the thinking of Marx and Weber.

One of the more important features in conflict theory is the idea of reproduction of the societal power structure. The origin of unequality is to be found in the class-structure, which is legitimized and reproduced by means of education (Bowles, 1977; Collins, 1977).

Bowles (1977) and Carnoy (1974, 1977) argue that educational systems in capitalist countries have been unable to serve as promotors of equality. They stress the strong relation between class, education and work. A system of class stratification is developed which allocates the children of the elites to high status education, while working class children go to vocational training, which according to the capitalist view is most relevant for them.

Weber according to Karabel & Halsey (1977) sees conflicting interests rather than 'systemic needs' as the driving force for shaping education systems. Power then becomes the crucial variable. The dominant groups in society will shape the schools in ways that serve their own interests. According to Collins (1977) organizations became instrumental in gaining power and in controlling society.

The correspondence theory proposed by Bowles and Gintis (Karabel & Halsey, 1977) focuses on the strong relationship between the economy and the educational system. Education is seen as a key agent for transmission of inequality, since there is supposed to exist an almost perfect match between the educational sector and the society as a whole.

Karabel & Halsey (1977) suggest that if the theory of correspondence is taken seriously it will be hard to explain the fact that educational changes can occur at all. Proponents of the theory have recognized this dilemma. In order to build a more comprehensive theory of educational reproduction and changes the concept of 'contradiction' has been added to that of correspondence. Bowles and Carter have played an important role in developing the concept (Karabel & Halsey, 1977). Carnoy & Levin (1976) describe how contradictions lead to changes both in school and in society.

Carron (1977) in a polemic with Levin, accuses the correspondence theory of being a theory of social determinism, making all action futile. While conceding that one cannot expect the school to cause radical changes in the overall social system, he maintains that educational reforms are capable of influencing the development of society and of causing change to a certain extent.

Carnoy & Levin (1976) among others have pointed out that the process of social reproduction takes place in any society, irrespective of political system.

Critics attack conflict theories on the grounds that they neglect the issue of educational content. As already mentioned a similar criticism has been raised against the functionalistic approach. Though conflict theorists blame school for reproducing class structure they fail to explain how this happens. They refuse to accept the cultural dominance of the elites as an explanation for differential achievement in school (Karabel & Halsey, 1977). According to the work of Bernstein, however, societal control is exercised by way of cultural transmission through the school (Bernstein, 1975)

Foster (1977) commenting on conflict theories maintains that the interrelation between a differentiated education and a differentiated labour market is merely truistic. In his criticism of conflict theory he also argues that there is no real support in data for the assumption that the dominant groups are attempting to force their own values on the masses, and thus reproducing the existing class structure.

LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENT

The previous exposé has been concerned with education generally. In the continued discussion, however, the focus will be on the role of literacy for development, which is the main theme of this book.

Literacy in the world

Any discussion of the literacy situation in a broad perspective is impeded by the lack of a universally accepted definition. For the immediate purpose of discussing global literacy, literacy is taken to mean the ability to read and write. Further on in this section various aspects of literacy are dealt with.

Cipolla (1969) traces the history of literacy in the West from its very beginning in ancient eras up to the time of the industrial revolution. Around the turn of the last century several of the countries in Western Europe had reached a literacy rate of 80%, taking into account reading ability only (Johansson, 1977). Today literacy rate in the industrialized countries of the world has reached 99% (World Bank, 1980). Dealing with quantifications of literacy it should be borne in mind that literacy statistics carry limited significance, due to in the first place a lack of commonly accepted standards.

In the U.S.S.R. by means of a massive campaign illiteracy was reduced to 10% by 1939. Twenty years later virtually universal literacy was attained (Löfstedt, 1980). Right from its proclamation, the People's Republic of China has regarded the elimination of illiteracy as a matter of utmost importance. In 1949 on overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate. Figures, which should be treated with due caution, range between 80 and 90 per cent (Instituttet for udviklingsforskning, 1973; Levin et al., 1979; Price, 1973; Yuan-li Wu, 1973). By 1979 the illiteracy rate had been pressed down to an estimated 30% (Löfstedt, 1980).

Mass campaigns to promote literacy have been conducted in developing countries during the last three decades, resulting in a raise in literacy from 29% in 1960 to 38% in 1975 (World Bank, 1980). In spite of decreasing proportions of illiterates in the world, however, their absolute numbers are growing. It should also be noted that illiteracy affects in particular women and rural inhabitants in developing countries. An optimistic outlook for the future is reflected in a Unesco (1980) review of world literacy where it is maintained that projections for the future are encouraging, especially with respect to the percentage of adults who will attain literacy.

The United Nations has through its specialized organization Unesco played an active role in the propagation of literacy in many parts of the world. A major effort on the part of Unesco is represented by the Experimental World Literacy Campaign, EWLP, which was carried out between 1967 and 1973. See Bataille, 1976, Unesco, 1979 and Unesco/UNDP, 1976. Of special importance were selective and intensive projects implemented in eleven countries with financial assistance from the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP. The eleven countries thus involved were Algeria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guinea, India, Iran, Madagascar, Mali, Sudan, Syria and Tanzania. The central objective for EWLP was to explore economic and social effects of literacy. The programme was also intended to prepare the way for an eventual global assault on illiteracy. Even if EWLP fell short of becoming a forerunner to a world campaign it has been credited with gathering significant information on such aspects on literacy action as organization and methodology.

Discussions of the phenomenon of literacy have also brought up the question of its possible negative effects. As adverse effects can be mentioned the increased psychological alienation in modern society, the impact of literacy on a traditional society, and its effects on a predominantly oral culture. Relevant texts about this issue are Bataille (1976), Disch (1973), Goody (1973), Goody & Watt (1968), Marcuse (1973) and McLuhan (1973).

Literacy definitions

Concepts related to broad societal and cultural phenomena are notoriously hard to capture in precise and logically consistent definitions. Such is the case, as we have just seen with "development". Literacy is another elusive and nebulous conception. Yet there is a need, especially in the present context, for some set of referents to this phenomenon. To be sure, varying definitions of literacy abound in literature and in praxis. It also seems that the notion of literacy must change in congruence with what a literate person is expected to perform in different milieus and at different times of history. This is not the occasion to give an exhaustive run-down of available definitions. An attempt will none the less be made to delineate discernible trends in the development of the concept. Two major trends are identified, designated by us as traditional and modern.

Traditional literacy

Literacy in the traditional sense does simply signify the ability to read and write. It was long regarded as an end in itself (Faure at al., 1972). Traditional literacy is chiefly concerned with the mere acquisition of skills (Cipolla, 1969; Rogers, 1969).

Traditional literacy has been accused of overlooking practical applications and of viewing literacy as a commodity for consumptions. See for example Unesco (1970 a) and Gillette (1972). As time progressed, however, the concept of literacy began to take into account the practical needs of the literate person. In 1951 Unesco considered a person literate who could read and write a simple statement on his everyday life (Fundamental and Adult Education, 1957).

Modern literacy

A modern notion of literacy is introduced with the principle of functionality. Functional literacy lacks distinctive referents, but in essence it connotes the practical application of reading and writing. Arithmetic is also drawn into the sphere of literacy. Compare for instance Literacy Work (1977) and Myrdal (1968). Functional literacy is often connected with technical progress and economic development. Earlier interpretations of the concept, however, evolve around practical application in the individual's community.

"He (the functionally literate person) should at least be able to read a simple instruction leaflet... to write a legible letter, and to keep a record of his money transactions or the produce of his farm" (Jeffries, 1967, p. 11).

A positive view of literacy as an agent for economic development and the contingent attitude to illiteracy as an obstacle is visible in numerous statements from the 60's and 70's and a recurrent theme in Unesco documents (Schofield, 1973).

The 1960's was declared by the United Nations as the first development decade. There is therefore an obvious logic to the declaration of the World Conference on Literacy in 1965:

"... since illiteracy is an integral part of underdevelopment, literacy must become an integral part of development" (Rafe-uz-Zaman, 1978, p. 75).

The notion of functional literacy as a vehicle for economic development is connected in particular with the launching in 1967 of the previously mentioned Experimental World Literacy Programme, EWLP. The main objectives of the experimental programme was to test and demonstrate the economic and social returns of literacy, and to study the relationship between literacy and social and economic development.

"Briefly, the idea was to combine literacy and numeracy with a programme of education in basic educational skills directly linked to the occupational needs of participants" (Unesco/UNDP, 1976, p. 120).

The ideas behind EWLP with regard to education and development seem to be closely related to the tenets of human capital theory. EWLP was also carried out in Ethiopia under the name of the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project, WOALP. A further reference to WOALP is given in Chapter 2. Relevant texts on EWLP and its role for functional literacy are Bataille (1976), Burnett (1965), Faure et al., (1972), Unesco (1970 a, 1979, 1980) and Unesco/UNDP (1976).

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Functional literacy in EWLP's terms was selective and not as its traditional counterpart the mass-approach aimed at whole populations. Arguments are advanced for each of these positions. The mass-strategy by definition implies a global attack on illiteracy with a view to promoting equality of opportunity. The mass approach is often applied when the objective is ideological mobilization on a major scale. Selective action, on the contrary, is linked up with effectiveness and relevance for production and economy. Selectivity may be motivated when resources are scarce so that literacy work has to be conducted in a step-wise manner involving certain groups at a time. For a treatise of selective versus mass-approach, see among others Rafe-uz-Zaman (1978), Gillette (1972) and Unesco (1972, 1980).

The notion of productivity-oriented functional literacy which permeated the EWLP approach has gradually changed into a broader view, encompassing economic growth as well as social, political and cultural change.

Freire (Unesco/UNDP, 1976) has warned against a restricted functional literacy, which overlooks the learner's need for political awareness. He also points out that literacy programmes cannot be politically neutral since they should endeavour to impart a critical understanding of the learner's reality (Bataille, 1976).

During the last decade an expanded functionality has gradually developed, an expression of which is contained in the Declaration of Persepolis 3-8 September 1975 (Bataille, 1976).

> *"The International Symposium for Literacy... considered literacy to be not just the process of learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, but a contribution to the liberation of man and to his full development. Thus conceived literacy creates the conditions for the acquisition of a critical consciousness of the contradictions of society in which man lives and of its aims; ... literacy work, like education in general is a political act. It is not neutral, for the act of revealing social reality in order to transform it, or of concealing it in order to preserve it, is political"* (pp. 273-274).

In sum: at the middle of the seventies the economic, work-oriented interpretation of functional literacy had widened into a more comprehensive concept. In the new light neither reading and writing per se, nor a narrow economic functionalism is regarded as sufficient. Literacy is rather envisioned as an agent for development both in economic and in humanistic terms, in quantitative as well as qualitative categories.

Chapter 2

A BRIEF HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PRESENTATION OF ETHIOPIA

During the 1970's important political and social changes took place in Ethiopia. The recent dramatic political development, which has influenced all sectors of the Ethiopian society, can only be fully understood by relating them to the historical facts of Ethiopia. Our present text attempts to give a brief outline of main historical and political events with emphasis on the last century. The reader who wants an exhaustive description is referred to for instance Halldin-Norberg, 1977; Markakis, 1975; Markakis & Nega, 1978; Ottaway & Ottaway, 1978; Pankhurst, 1968 and 1976/77; Rubenson, 1976; Ståhl, 1974 and Valdelin, 1976.

FROM AKSUM TO MENILEK

Written information about ancient Ethiopia is in existence from the second century. Christianity is traced back to the fourth century, and has been state religion since then up to the dethroning of Haile Selassie in 1974 (Halldin-Norb[illegible], 1977). The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the secular rulers of Ethiopia have been linked in a close alliance since the early days of the ancient regime. Together they formed the ruling class. Only Christians could obtain important functions in the government, a fact that may have induced members of other ethnic groups to become converts (Halldin-Norberg, 1977).

During part of its history the Ethiopian people have been surrounded by ethnic groups following the teachings of Islam. Eventually many Islamitic groups became incorporated in the Ethiopian state. Presently about 45% of the total population of Ethiopia is considered to be Muslims and 45% Orthodox Christians (Annuaire de l'Afrique, 1979).

The old kingdom of Aksum, which was most powerful from the fourth to seventh century, has been regarded as the origin of the present Ethiopia. During its most powerful era it controlled ports at the Red Sea and strategic caravan routes from the Red Sea to Aksum and to the mountainous hinterlands. Muslim expansion in the 8th century forced the Aksumites back from the Red Sea. Accordingly trade revenues decreased and the power of the Aksumite kings declined. Little is known of the situation in the highlands for the next five centuries. Probably continous fighting took place among the nomadic tribes on the Plateau. From the 13th century it crops up as a forceful kingdom once more.

During the 16th century cruel wars with the Muslim kingdom of Adal were fought leading to vast destruction and massacre of the Ethiopians. Following the Muslim wars large Oromo groups invaded the Plateau and integrated with the Ethiopians (Levine, 1972; Markakis, 1975; Ståhl, 1974).

The 19th century was characterized by fighting between rivalling kings and warlords in the Ethiopian highlands. By the end of the century the Ethiopian nation had almost reached its present size. During this period the previously independent Oromo and Sidama kingdoms and Muslim sultanates adjacent to the Central Plateau were conquered and added to the Ethiopian empire. Oromos became the largest ethnic group, though the ruling aristocracy consisted of Amharas and Tigreans. During the last three decades of the 19th century the provinces of Wollega, Illubabor, Arussi, Harrarge, Bale, Kaffa, Gamo Gofa and Sidamo became Ethiopian territory (Greenfield, 1969; Halldin-Norberg, 1977; Valdelin, 1976).

Emperor Menilek II (1889-1913), who stood as conqueror over rivalling warlords and kings at the end of the 19th century, was faced with the task of ruling over a nation of heterogeneous groups with great diversity of languages and religions. When he had secured for the time being the independence of his country. Menilek started the process of modernizing Ethiopia. He encouraged foreign traders and artisans to settle in Ethiopia and introduced new community institutions like schools, hospitals and banks. This was the first deliberate plan for development of Ethiopia. (Halldin-Norberg, 1977; Pankhurst, 1968; Valdelin, 1976)

Menilek's ambition to create a strong and developed nation was partly influenced by the colonial aspirations manifested by the United States and the European colonial powers during this period. However, Menilek also had other motives for his crusades against the neighbouring provinces. Dire economic problems in the early 1890's made access to the resources of the South a prerequisite for survival. The captured land was governed by Menilek's own trusted followers, who belonged to the Shoan aristocracy, in which Amharas and Tigreans were found as well as amharized Oromos (Ståhl, 1974).

The former structure of society in the southern provinces, where most of the land previously had been owned and used collectively by the clan, was broken up. Not only did the people have to suffer a political and economic tyranny, but also a cultural oppression in terms of language, religion and traditions. The conquerors, including Menilek himself, remained foreign overlords (Valdelin, 1979). The peasants were little by little reduced to tenants. They became a class of severely exploited agricultural workers, who had to pay from one third to half of their produce to the landlords (Ståhl, 1974). For a further description of the land tenure system in the South see for instance Levine, 1972; Markakis & Nega 1978; Pankhurst, 1968 and Ståhl, 1974).

In the northern parts of present Ethiopia the social structure was different. Here the landlords usually belonged to the same ethnic group as the peasants, as a result of which the peasants often sided with the landlords in conflicts with the central power. As in the South the people had to pay tribute to the landlords, who also held military and fiscal powers. But there was a distinctive difference in the way of contributing the tribute. In the North it was paid collectively as the responsibility of the whole community, in spite of the fact that each family used his individual plot of land. Private ownership of land did not exist. The peasants in the North were oppressed, but not to such an extent as those in the southern part of the empire (Levine, 1972; Lundström, 1976; Markakis & Nega, 1978; Pankhurst, 1968; Ståhl, 1974; Valdelin, 1979).

The development of Ethiopia into a modern state was a slow and halting process. A period of comparative peace following the decades of internal and external fighting, which ended with Menilek's victory, was not sufficient to speed up economic development. One reason for this may have been the almost complete lack of indigenous merchants and artisans. This gap was filled by Arabs, Greeks, Indians, Armenians, and Italians, who set themselves up as traders, artisans, and shopkeepers (Markakis & Nega 1978; Valdelin 1979).

An important feature in the development progress was the establishment of townships and large markets. Wars had previously prevented trade on a larger scale. The above mentioned lack of traders was to some extent lessened by the increasing Muslim population of Ethiopia, which gradually took over the petty trade in the country (Markakis & Nega, 1978). An important step towards the creation of a central government was taken when the capital of Addis Ababa was founded in the 1980's and established as a permanent cite for the ruler (Pankhurst, 1968 and 1976/77; Valdelin, 1979).

ETHIOPIA UNDER HAILE SELASSIE

After Menilek's death in 1913 a savage struggle for the succession broke out among provincial contenders. Finally Ras Tafari Makonnen, later known as Haile Selassie I, emerged as victor. It is said that the imprint of his experiences from this period never left him; he always distrusted his northern vasalls (Markakis & Nega, 1978). A political consequence was his determined efforts to create a strong central government supported by a loyal military force.

The embryo of a modern state appeared in the years before the Italian occupation, in form of a national military force, a police force, state owned farms, the building of a few roads and establishment of some schools. An important step towards development of an infrastructure in Shoa and Arussi provinces was the construction of a railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa during the first decades of this century, in which process France and England were involved (Bondestam, 1975). Export of coffee was facilitated through the new mode of transportation, which had consequences for establishing coffee as the leading export product of Ethiopia. Investments were concentrated to areas most appealing to foreign capital, which led to an unequal distribution of social institutions. Thus local metropoles were created in the country, while distant rural areas hardly received any stimulance at all (Greenfield, 1969; Valdelin, 1979).

Aided by a "progressive" group within the aristocracy Haile Selassie endeavoured to develop an Ethiopian capitalist economy, controlled and partly owned by the government and the new bureaucracy, which came into power as the central state system expanded. The development ambitions demonstrated by the ruler did probably not, in the first place, aim at rising the living standard of the peasant population.

The Italian occupation 1936-1941

A last attempt to make Ethiopia an Italian colony occurred in 1936, when the well-equipped Italian army attacked Ethiopia, and after about half a year of fighting managed to assume control of most of the country.

The occupation of Ethiopia was terminated in 1941, when the British marched into the country from Sudan, and joined with Ethiopian guerilla forces. Shortly afterwards Haile Selassie returned from his exile in England. By aid of the British army Haile Selassie started to re-establish his power and rebuild his government with the intention of creating a new strong central state (Halldin-Norberg, 1977; Ståhl, 1974; Valdelin, 1979).

It is hard to estimate the influence of the brief colonical period on development in Ethiopia. The most obvious innovation was a network of roads, which was constructed by the Italians. Roads were necessary elements of the modern infrastructure that was envisaged. The occupational power planned for an exploitation of Ethiopia along traditional colonial lines (Bondestam, 1975; Carlsson et al, 1970; Markakis & Nega, 1978; Pankhurst 1976/77; Ståhl, 1974; Valdelin, 1979).

Political and economic development in Ethiopia after the restoration

When Haile Selassie returned to power after the Italian occupation, he started to rebuild his government with the renewed ambition to create a centralized state power. For this purpose he needed access to independent sources of income, which could pay for the bureaucratic apparatus. Land revenues could not bear these costs. Haile Selassie saw the solution in building a modern industrial sector in accordance with the capitalistic mode of production, where he and the loyal bureaucracy had a controlling interest (Valdelin, 1979).

The capital necessary for industrial investment could not be found in Ethiopia. Few production units existed, and little capital accumulation had occurred. The feudal landlords consumed most of the surplus of their lands by purchasing imported luxury goods or investing it in housing estates in the big towns. Thus the main part of private capital available in Ethiopia for investment was found within the aristocracy in the Emperor's immediate surrounding and with the emerging bureaucracy. Enterprises under governmental control were established, and the profits were shared between these groups. Such an enterprise was for instance the Ethiopian National Corporation of 1943 (Valdelin, 1979).

Another way of promoting the industrial expansion was to bring foreign capital to Ethiopia. For this purpose the Ethiopian government granted foreign companies extremely lenient terms for investment. The investment Code applied during the 60's was one of the most liberal in Africa (Valdelin, 1979). The majority of the Ethiopian people did not profit from the industrial development, though some hundred thousands of workers eventually became employed in the industrial sector.

Not much had happened within the agricultural sector up to the end of the 50's. At that time the government initiated several large commercial farming projects, often sponsored by foreign aid. Beside the state-controlled farms large foreign-owned farming projects were established in the most fertile and developed parts of the country. The Awash Valley, large areas in the Rift Valley and the fertile parts of the northern highlands were involved in this process. In many instances the mechanization process hit the rural cultivators hard, since tenants were substituted by machinery. A proletariat of agricultural workers was thus created, especially in the South. Pastoralists were evicted and forced to congregate on less fertile land, with overpopulation and overgrazing as the result (Markakis & Nega, 1978; Valdelin, 1979).

Most of the rural population still lived within a subsistence economy, with tenants paying their landlords up to 75% of their produce (Valdelin, 1979). This group did not benefit from the development of a modern agricultural sector. The Imperial ambition to promote agricultural development was not in the first place guided by the need to raise the living standard of the rural population, but rather to increase the export of agricultural produce. Important products for this purpose were coffee, sugar, cotton, fruit, vegetables and grain. During the great famine in Wollo and Tigre in the early 70's, caused by draught and overgrazing, large quantities of grain were held in store by the government, and some of it was exported during the famine period (Markakis & Nega, 1978).

The Eritrean issue deserves attention in an exposé of the political and economic development of Ethiopia in modern time. We feel, however, that this issue is not within the scope of our study.

EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA

Traditional education

In order to understand the role of YDLC as an educational institution it is necessary to sketch a brief outline of the overall educational situation in Ethiopia. Ethiopia has never been under colonial rule except for the brief interlude 1936-1941. As a consequence the Ethiopian educational system has been more influenced by traditional values than what is usual in African countries. When discussing the role of the church schools in the socialization process, Levine (1972) contends:

> *"Amhara formal education in no wise seeks to cultivate the individual, but aims solely to prepare cultural specialists who will be able to perform the rituals and perpetuate the teaching of the Ethiopian Church"* (p. 267).

There is a considerable gap between the educational goals expressed in the above quotation and those of a colonially directed school system, with the aim of educating a middle class of docile civil servants.

In the isolated highlands of Christian Ethiopia the Orthodox Church for centuries constituted the main guardian of traditional culture and provided the only schools. Probably church schools were in existence from the 10th century (Pankhurst, 1976). Educational content was almost entirely religious with training in reading and writing and memorizing of religious texts. Advanced students could also study church music, poetry, theology, church history and philosophy (Pankhurst, 1976; Wagaw, 1979).

Ethiopian culture shows a tradition of oral elements. A multiplicity of stories, fables, poems and proverbs have been told from one generation to another. Written literature on the other hand is rather stereotype and sterile, with little outlet for emotions and critical analysis (Levine, 1972).

The Orthodox Church Schools are not the only educational institutions from historical time. Koran schools seem to have existed for centuries in the Muslim-inhabited areas in Eastern and Western parts of present Ethiopia, though their existence was not widely known until modern time. The educational content was drawn from the Koran and other religious texts, and students were taught to read and write Arabic (Pankhurst, 1976).

Missions of various denominations established schools in Ethiopia at an early period. According to Pankhurst (1976) Jesuit missionaries in Tigre ran a school for Portuguese children in Fremona in the early years of the 17th century. Protestant missionaries in Shoa established a school for boys during the 1830's. Sweden was represented by the Swedish Evangelical Mission, EFS, which opened its first school in Massawa in Eritrea 1870.

Modern Education

A first significant step towards modern education was taken by Emperor Menilek around 1900, when he established the first secular school at his palace. Students were instructed in reading, writing, calligraphy, religion, Ethiopian history, law, and the religious language Geez (Pankhurst, 1976).

Menilek was well aware of the importance of having educated manpower at his disposal for the modernization process he envisaged for his country. The Orthodox Church by tradition had been in charge of education in Ethiopia, and founding of secular schools was therefore a delicate task. By diplomatic measures Menilek managed to establish a number of secular schools in Addis Ababa, Harar, Ankober, and Dessie around 1906. The curriculum included French, English, Arabic, Italian, Amharic, Geez, mathematics, Science, physical training, and sports. The instructional language was French. Board and tuition were free (Pankhurst, 1976; Wagaw, 1979).

After Menilek's death in 1913 Haile Selassie continued the efforts to promote modern education. He was aided in his educational ambition by protestant and catholic missions in Ethiopia, who founded a large number of schools during the first decades of the 20th century. Among the religious organizations involved in education at that time are to be found some of those, which in the early sixties came to support the establishing of the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign, for instance the Swedish Evangelical Mission.

By the time of the Italian occupation in 1936, 21 government schools with a total enrolment of 4 200 students were functioning. Amharic was the only Ethiopian language taught in the schools. After one year of occupation less than one third of that number of students were found in Ethiopian schools. The quality of instruction and content in the schools that still existed were inferior, Italianization, not academic progress, being the main goal of education. The Orthodox Church was badly persecuted during the occupation, which affected the Church Schools. It is estimated that about 75% of the educated young people of Ethiopia were killed during the war. No government schools at all existed in 1941 (Wagaw, 1979).

School policy of Haile Selassie

By Western standards Haile Selassie was at the time of the restoration considered a progressive and enlightened ruler. As proof of his progressive attitudes was often mentioned his manifest interest for creating a modern educational system in Ethiopia.

A question to be answered before deciding on such an assertion concerns Haile Selassie's motives for taking an interest in education. It has been said by several authors (Greenfield, 1969; Levine, 1972; Markakis & Nega, 1978; Pankhurst, 1976; Wagaw, 1979; Valdelin, 1979) that one of Haile Selassie's most important political goals was the creation of a strong central state power, thus eliminating much of the power of the regional aristocracy and landowners, as well as the risk of uprisings in the provinces.

For this purpose he needed a corps of bureaucrats with a modern education, who gave their first loyality to the Emperor. The development of an industrial sector, which was to finance the centralization process, also called for a sophisticated state apparatus. Thus a modern educational system, especially at the secondary level, became necessary.

After graduation from primary or secondary school students often had to move to Addis Ababa, where they became boarders. This meant great changes in the way of living for many students. School became the most important event in their lives, and was perceived as a favour granted them through the benevolence of the Emperor and his government. Students felt that they were indebted to the government and had to repay their debt by giving their loyalty in the first place to the Emperor (Levine, 1972).

This situation was partly created by Haile Selassie's maintaining a paternalistic relationship with the intellectuals, which incidentally gave him the image of a progressive ruler (Levine, 1972; Markakis, 1975). Our opinion is, however, that his educational policy was directed by his political ambitions, not by any consciousness of social injustices. Writers like Bondestam (1975), Greenfield (1969) and Levine (1972) indicate that the Emperor dit not intend to let the process of modernization and development grow outside his own sphere of interest.

"By the fifties... Haile Selassie was unwilling, or at least unable, to take the next step, to raise national development higher in the societal value hierarchy than loyalty to the Crown" (Levine, 1972, p. 216).

Haile Selassie's efforts to improve the schooling system in Ethiopia were looked upon with approval by Western industrial countries, who also gave substantial aid for this purpose. England, Canada and the United States led the way, mainly by assisting in the training of teachers. International organizations such as Unesco and Unicef contributed. School building programmes were launched, one of the most effective known as the Elementary School Building

Unit, ESBU, which was sponsored by the Swedish government. A large number of foreign teachers and advisers worked in Ethiopia during the 50's and 60's to fill the lack of qualified educational personnel. The University of Addis Ababa was founded in 1950 with assistance in the first place from the United States (Wagaw, 1979).

A standard curriculum was set up for all schools in the country - church, mission and private schools as well as government schools. Main subjects were Amharic, English, mathematics, science and social studies. Students had to pass examinations in order to move up from primary to secondary and from secondary to college level. Political issues were not introduced at school, and students were not encouraged to question and discuss the social order (Wagaw, 1979). Secular schools in contrast to church schools were career-oriented and directed the students towards a life very different from traditional rural life. The rivalry between secular and church schools known from Menilek's regime still persisted (Levine, 1972).

Education offered to students in government schools was strictly academic, preparing them for administrative career. Deficiencies in the quality of education were caused by lack of resources in terms of qualified teachers and teaching materials. A large part of the scarce resources was directed to secondary schooling. From the mid-fifties Amharic was the official language of instruction in spite of the fact that a majority of the population did not speak the language (Wagaw, 1979).

The complicated linguistic situation in Ethiopia deserves a note of explanation. Like most African countries, Ethiopia is a linguistically diverse country, where a large number of languages and dialects are used in everyday communication. There are about half a dozen languages that are so important that they deserve to be labelled major languages. These are either spoken by a large number of the population as mother tongue or are of great importance as second language. Such languages are Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya and Somali. English still has a strong position as medium in higher education, in commerce and international communication. Arabic is spoken by a number of the Muslim population. The language situation in Ethiopia is described in detail by among others Bender et al (1976). A summary of their major points is given below.

Two main categories of African languages are found in Ethiopia: the Afro-Asiatic and the Nilo-Saharan. In the first category three families of languages can be found in Ethiopia: Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic. About a dozen of the Ethiopian languages are Semitic, 22 are Cushitic, 18 Omotic and 18 Nilo-Saharan. The Omotic languages seem to be spoken only in Ethiopia, which also is true of most Cushitic languages. More than half of the world's modern Semitic languages are Ethiopian.

The most important of the Semitic languages is Amharic, which is the only Ethiopian language which has a writing system of its own. Other important languages within this group are Tigre, Tigrinya, Argobba, Harari, and Gurage. The religious language Geez belongs to the Semitic group as well as Arabic. Major Cushitic languages are Sidamo, Somali, Oromo, Beja and Agew. In the Omotic group are found Maji and Kefa-Gimojan languages.

The Nilo-Saharan languages in Ethiopia are within the Chari-Nile and Koman groups and are spoken along the Sudanese border.

In spite of determined efforts from the government Ethiopia had a less developed educational system than most other African states. This fact was disclosed in 1961 when the first of several conferences about the educational problems of Africa was held in Addis Ababa (Wagaw, 1979).

Plans were formed to promote universal education in Ethiopia, but implementation was hampered by serious obstacles. The lack of resources was still a drawback. One serious shortcoming was the fact, that most educational facilities were found in urban areas, though the majority of the population lived in the countryside.

Elementary education was financed by taxes on rural land. Urban property owners did not contribute to the costs of elementary education, in spite of the fact that their children were the main beneficiaries. A special problem was the low participation of female students in all schools (Wagaw, 1979).

The low female participation in education could partly be explained by cultural factors. Traditional rules dictate to a large extent what women should do. Few studies have been conducted in this area, but from the limited material available it seems that Ethiopian women have had little influence and decision power in the traditional society. This is indicated for instance by Bergman (1971) in a study of decision making practises among farmers and tenants within the CADU project. An attempt to free the educational system from traditional antifemale attitudes was made in the early fifties when co-education was introduced in Ethiopian schools.

Curricula were not adjusted to Ethiopian needs and characteristics, but often copied from Western school systems and introduced by foreign teachers. Most textbooks were purchased abroad, with a content mirroring Western conditions and culture (Wagaw, 1979).

In 1953 it was reported that 412 government primary schools were in existence with an estimated 70 000 students. About 200 000 students were at the same period enlisted in church schools, where the main subjects were reading and writing and religious instruction. Most Ethiopian children did not have access to any schooling at all. Female students represented 12,4% of the total enrolment in 1950 (Wagaw, 1979).

As we have mentioned in Chapter 1 the sixties was a decade of educational growth in many parts of the world. Investment in manpower was thought to lead to rapid technical development and economic growth. In Ethiopia this philosophy is reflected in the second and third Five-Year Development Plans, which stressed the priority of technical education and efficient training of skilled personnel.

"A new approach to education, a new philosophy of education had replaced the drive of the post-war years. The philosophy of 'education at all cost' had been replaced by the calculated approach of the economist: invest for what you can get in return. Educate only as many as can be absorbed by the developing economy and administration, educate only the type you need" (Trudeau quoted in Wagaw, 1979, p. 154).

The rate of wastage was high in government schools. According to Wagaw (1979), in the early fifties 50% of students from grade 1 had dropped out by the end of the second year.

At the end of the sixties it was obvious that the Ethiopian educational system was due for a change. The elitist character of the school system made it to a large extent unrelated to Ethiopian needs and Ethiopian culture. Students leaving school had lost much of their cultural roots, when gaining at best a certificate. The system was rigidly controlled by a centralized administration, which did not give much opportunity for local community participation and flexibility in implementation (Wagaw, 1979).

In 1971 a committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education to review the entire education sector. In 1973 a report was presented with recommendations and proposals for drastic changes in the educational system, the Education Sector Review. The inherent weaknesses in the old system were exposed, not only in the educational sector, but also in other spheres of the society. The report caused an intensive debate, though the proposed changes were never implemented, nor would they have been during the Imperial regime. The drastic political development during 1974 put an end to the educational debate for the time being (Wagaw, 1979).

The launching of Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign in the early sixties should be viewed against the general educational situation outlined above. YDLC school policy differed strongly from the official educational system, as we shall see in Chapter 3. The Campaign granted local school committees and participants a large amount of influence on the village school, and had also the ambition to include such subject matter that was geared to

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local needs. One reason why YDLC chose to concentrate its efforts on distant rural areas was the disproportion of governmental educational facilities between the countryside and urban areas.

The educational situation from 1970

In the early seventies, when the evaluation of YDLC was initiated, Ethiopia had one of the lowest levels of literacy in the world. The World Bank (1973) put the rate of literacy in the total population above the age of 15 at 7%. The literacy rate for the rural population (10 years and above) was quoted as 4,7% in January 1970 (Central Statistical Office, 1974 a).

Table 2.1. Ethiopia, Literacy Status of the Rural Population, 10 years and above, by Sex.

Literacy status	Male number	%	Female number	%	Total number	%
Literates	512300	8,9	22100	0,4	534400	4,7
Read only	139100	2,4	6300	0,1	145400	1,3
Illiterates	5072200	87,7	5487200	98,4	10559400	92,9
Not Stated	61600	1,0	63700	1,1	125300	1,1
Total	5785200	100,0	5579300	100,0	11364500	100,0

Source: Central Statistical Office, 1974 a.

Note: These data emanate from the National Sample Survey Second Round for the surveyed rural areas, which stated the rural population as 17 883 400 for January 1970. If the non-surveyed areas are taken into consideration the estimated rural population for January 1970 is 21 730 900. As a consequence Table 2.1 almost certainly underestimates the number of literates, whereas the percentage of literates may remain relatively unaffected.

As previously mentioned facilities for elementary and secondary education in Ethiopia were provided through government schools, private schools, mission schools, and church schools. Table 2.2 shows the number of students in all schools at all levels 1972/73.

Table 2.2. Number of Schools, Teachers and Students in different types of schools in Ethiopia 1972/73.

Type of school	No. of schools	No. of teachers	No. of students
Govt. schools	1 799	17 545	713 655
Mission schools	385	1 954	36 522
Private schools	753	3 514	169 164
Church schools	104	476	21 902
All schools	3 041	23 489	941 243

Note: In these statistics are included grades 1-12, specialized schools and institutions of higher learning.

Source: Central Statistical Office, 1976 a.

Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign, YDLC, with 1431 schools, 1853 teachers and 91 178 students reported for 1972/73 does not seem to be included in the figures of Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 shows that 713 655 students were enrolled in government schools in the whole country in 1972/73. The number of students in all schools was reported as 941 243. During the same period, 762 686 students went to grades 1-6, out of whom 556 954 were found in government schools (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a). The sum total of students for the whole population in grades 1-6 for the year 1972/73, 762 686, should be related to the size of the total population between 5 and 14, which was estimated at 7,3 million in 1973. It is also worth noting that boys outnumbered girls by three to one in the schools (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a).

Schools were still unequally distributed among the regions of the country, favouring urban centers rather than rural areas, where 90% of the total population lived.

Adult Education

Educational facilities for adults were even more scarce than for children. One of the agencies which tried to reach adults was the object of our study, the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign.

Ethiopia was one of the countries participating in the previously mentioned Experimental World Functional Literacy Programme, EWLP. EWLP was initiated by Unesco and funded by the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP. The Ethiopian programme became known as the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Programme, WOALP. It became operative in October 1968 and was terminated in December 1975. The main purpose of this project was to assist the Ethiopian Government in organizing, implementing and evaluating a work-oriented literacy project closely linked to rural development as well as industrial/vocational training. The project acquired experience in such areas as the training of instructors, preparation of vocational-technical materials for adults, linking functional literacy to agricultural or home economic demonstration programmes and pre-vocational training for factory workers. By June 1973, close to 25 000 learners in 885 classes with 783 instructors were engaged in WOALP (Ministry of Education, 1974).

A more recent contribution to literacy activities came from the Development through Cooperation Campaign, also known as the Zemecha. At its initiation in January 1975, 56 000 campaigners, mostly teachers and students, were assigned to various development tasks in rural Ethiopia. Literacy work, one of the campaign activities, was started in four of the major languages spoken in Ethiopia. The teaching programme, which was government funded, was intended to be an on-going project (Development Through Cooperation, 1975).

The most impressive literacy efforts in Ethiopia date from the late 1970's and are still going on. The Government then initiated a nation-wide literacy campaign for adults, which started in urban areas during the summer-break 1979. A first phase was planned to reach 1,4 million people, but the final figure of participants rose to 5,4 million. More than 70% of the participants were women and girls. The duration of the first phase was three months, after which participants sat for a final test. Follow-up courses were planned both for individuals, who passed the test and those who failed. The ambitious goal was that illiteracy among urban inhabitants should be eradicted by June 1980. The National Literacy Campaign has also been launched in rural areas. The initial problems there, were larger and harder to solve. Lack of literacy teachers, housing, transportation and materials was even worse than in urban surroundings. By drawing on experiences and training from the urban campaign, however, the Government hopes to be able to eradicate illiteracy also in the Ethiopian countryside (Ministry of Education, 1979).

THE REVOLUTION

It is not within the scope of this book to give an exhaustive account of the revolution. Useful references for that subject are for instance Markakis & Nega (1978), Ottaway & Ottaway (1978) and Valdelin (1976, 1979). Since the field phase of our study coincided with the political uprising beginning in 1974 we feel, however, that the reader is entitled to a summary of the most important occurrances during the period 1974-1976.

The initial phase

Uprisings occurred in the provinces now and then during the whole period of Haile Selassie's regime. Often the revolts were instigated by provincial rulers, who did not approve of the centralization of power to the Emperor and his government. Several ethnic groups were also in opposition to the Imperial regime, notably the Oromos. The discrimination of languages other than Amharic was one point of discontent. In spite of such opposition Haile Selassie managed to keep his Empire intact by diplomatic and military schemes. One of the most urgent political problems in Ethiopia during the 60's and 70's became the issue of Eritrea.

Large military forces were engaged in keeping the Eritrean liberation movements at bay (Valdelin, 1979).

In the meantime opposition in Haile Selassie's immediate surrounding was developing. Intellectuals and the younger generation of bureaucrats were growing impatient with the slow progress of the country and the stagnation in career opportunities for themselves. They were also frustrated by their own lack of real influence within their area of competence. Overproduction of secondary and high school graduates during the fifties and sixties had led to a certain unemployment among the educated elite. A first implication of the growing discontent was given by the abortive coup-d'état in 1960 (Valdelin, 1979).

A growing student movement for the first time openly demanded a land reform. Behind the students were in the early seventies also groups like domestic servants, coolies and unemployed in Addis Ababa, who together formed a severely exploited proletariat (Valdelin, 1979).

At the political level the shift from feudalism towards capitalism led to serious conflicts within the ruling class (Valdelin, 1979).

The first hint of how the revolution was to be brought about was provided by a mutiny in Negelli-Borena in the south of Ethiopia. A group of soldiers mutinied in January 1974 and took over the control of their garrison. This mutiny was not caused by political reasons, but rather by discontent with the bad living conditions for the soldiers. The mutiny spread to other parts of the army. Another discontented group was the teachers. Strikes broke out among teachers, industrial workers and workers on commercial farms, and the taxi drivers in Addis Ababa. The wave of strikes paralysed the country and finally, in February 1974, the government resigned (Ottaway & Ottaway, 1978; Valdelin, 1976).

A nucleus of the present government, the Provisional Military Administrative Council, PMAC, or the Dergue, was created already in May 1974, when a military coordinating committee was established with representatives from the various branches of the armed forces. By the end of June this group had emerged as the new power in the country. Still proclamations from this period do not suggest plans for dethroning the Emperor. On September 13, 1974, however, the old Emperor was deposed without bloodshed.

Our opinion is that the revolution was not a manifestation of a conscious political mass-movement. During the first phase of the revolution the main part of the rural population adopted a wait-and-see policy. The strikes which broke out during the first half of 1974 were manifestations of discontent among certain groups with their own living conditions, rather than revolutionary exertions. No organized liberation movement such as in the colonialized African countries did arise in Ethiopia, though the masses were severely oppressed by their rulers. It has been argued that the group of officers, who came to power during the summer and autumn 1974 never had the intention to grasp the power, but were rather forced by circumstances to take over (Ottaway & Ottaway, 1978; Valdelin, 1976). The socialist theme of the revolution was introduced late in 1974, when the Dergue proclaimed "scientific socialism".

Reforms

It was necessary for the Dergue to obtain control over the means of production in order to break down the economic basis of the feudalistic system. The first of the reforms undertaken with this objective in view was the nationalization of a number of private owned companies, which to a large extent had been controlled by the Emperor and his followers. Banking and insurance companies were nationalized during the same period.

The Ethiopian people's prime demand on their new rulers concerned the long overdue land reform. The Dergue waited until the harvesting season was over in March 1975, until they presented a new land law. There had been insufficient time for planning the implementation of the reform or analysing the consequences. Nevertheless, when it was presented it was perceived as one of the most radical reforms in Africa (Valdelin, 1976, 1979).

The weakness of the land reform was not caused by its goals or the ambitions behind them, but rather by the fact that the reform was implemented without a thorough analysis of the class structure in the rural areas and what consequences the reform would have for the classes (Valdelin, 1979). On the whole the land reform has brought about important changes and improvement for large portions of the rural population.

The third large reform was proclaimed in the spring of 1975, when all urban land was nationalized.

The reader is referred to Markakis & Nega (1978) and Valdelin (1976 and 1979), who discuss the reforms of 1974 and 1975 at some length.

Educational Policy after the Revolution

The Dergue's ambitions to promote mass education were manifested through a number of proclamations during the years after the revolution. Emphasis was on the educational needs among the rural masses, where illiteracy reached 95%, and where nearly 90% of the population lived and where few schools were available. Poverty and social inequality was to be obliterated by education for the masses. The theme of self-reliance was introduced as part of the educational message. Actual needs perceived by the population was to shape the content of education. Decentralization was another important feature in the new system of education. Far-reaching responsibilities were delegated to the Peasant

Associations in the countryside and the Urban Dwellers' Associations in urban areas. Education was perceived as a weapon against feudalistic and imperialistic forces in society.

In a school proclamation published in the Ethiopian Herald on Sept. 26, 1976 is stated:

> "... *It underscores the fact that for socialist thinking to thrive, for production and research to develop and for theory and practice to be matched, the essential condition will be created only when education is related to the daily life of the masses...*".

The general objectives of the educational sector, as presented in a joint Ethiopian/Swedish document on Primary Education and Non-Formal Education from 1980, are education for production, for science and research and for socialist consciousness (SIDA, 1980).

The same document stressed the need for combining academic training with practical experience. Education is to provide all Ethiopians with resources for "socialist humanism".

Obviously the new educational system will differ from the pre-revolutionary on vital issues. It is also clear that in both instances the school is seen as a useful tool for implementing the political ambitions of the ruling group. In Imperial Ethiopia schools were intended to produce loyal and skilled bureaucrats, who would assist the Government in consolidating their own power and promoting the economic interests of the ruling groups. The present Government wants to promote a socialistic policy and mobilize the masses for this goal. As previously the school is subordinate to the political system and only permitted to change in a direction desired by the rulers.

The present Ethiopian Government has pronounced a strong belief in education as a means for making people conscious and creating ambitions for participation. Probably schools used for such a purpose are important institutions. It is reasonable to assume that pedagogical changes are small, since the educational system is hampered by the same lack of resources as during the old regime.

A NON-CHANGING SOCIETY

The political eruption in 1974 could be seen as an indicator of the Imperial Government's failure to create a society where a majority of people were participating in the development of the nation.

Obviously the Imperial government had certain ambitions for the development of Ethiopia. Since we want to relate education to development it is of relevance for our study to establish what changes, if any, were brought about in the rural areas by the development policy of the government during the post-war period up to the revolution in 1974.

Tenants and poor farmers continued to use their traditional methods in the agricultural sector, self-subsistence economy prevailed, and the feudalistic system effectively prevented the cultivators from making domestic savings. Thus few investments could be effected and increase in production was slow. A majority of the Ethiopian rural population barely survived and were hard hit by a bad harvest or cattle diseases (Greenfield, 1969; Valdelin, 1979). Governmental investments were concentrated to areas suitable for commercial farming and industrial enterprises. The two different modes of production, capitalism and feudalism, were existing separately, without much interchange. In areas where the feudalistic system prevailed, the modernization process was slow or non-existant.

The oppression of the rural masses could go on without any effective opposition. One reason for this was the fact that inherent tribalistic and ethnic conflicts among the population stood in the way for serious efforts to unify people in a struggle for more equal distribution of the production. It could be said that the rural areas were in a state of political and economic underdevelopment (Valdelin, 1979). In the industrial sector growth was satisfactory, though the role of this sector for the economy of the country as a whole was marginal. The owners made large profits out of this sector, but only minor benefits reached the population.

We regard Frank's (1967) concepts of metropole and satellite as useful for an analysis of the economic situation of pre-revolutionary Ethiopia. The unequal rate of investments in different provinces and districts in Ethiopia had been instrumental in shaping metropoles within the country. At the same time a pronounced dependence on foreign trade and foreign investments had reduced Ethiopia to satellite status in relation to the industrialized world.

It is obvious that little of the surplus produced in the commercial farming areas in Ethiopia was reinvested in a way that would benefit the workers or the population belonging to the self-subsistence economy in such areas. The surplus was expropriated by the owners, that is the Imperial state power or the foreign capital owners.

Characteristic for Ethiopia was the fact that two production systems existed side by side within the agricultural sector. But living standard for wage labourers at the commercial farms did not differ from that of the rest of the rural population. Neither did the workers benefit from the mechanization of the rural sector. On the contrary they were often compelled to move to other areas, when their work was taken over by machinery. This seems to be in accordance with Frank's notion that the whole economy of a country is always influenced by the capitalistic mode; no dichotomy between a traditional and a modern sector is possible.

Frank points out that as long as the structural preconditions of capitalism are present in the system it is not possible for the satellite to escape from the state of underdevelopment. If we consider the tenants and poor farmers as "satellites" in relation to landlords and the Government, the following occurrence during the imperial era could illustrate the relevance of Frank's thesis.

A bill dealing with the forms of tenancy relationships was presented to the Imperial Government in the early seventies (Ståhl, 1974). International pressure, from among others the Swedish Government, was put upon Ethiopia to accept the bill. This was never done, however, because of the strong opposition among members of the Chamber of Deputies, who had their own interests as landlords to defend. In other words, the system of ownership made any attempt to change the local conditions useless. In the same way the various development programmes could not bring about any real changes for the population although certain individuals might have benefitted from them.

The strategy chosen by the Imperial government for stimulating economic development of the country was closely related to the model prevailing in most industrialized countries, i.e. the neo-classic model. It was assumed that financial and technical aid would eventually lead to increased growth, which was thought to favour the whole population. Actually the tenants who came into contact with the technical development within the agricultural sector suffered, as we have previously shown. See also Ståhl (1974). Educational policy was directed towards creating a corps of skilled workers and administrators, while universal education was neglected. Production was thought to be increased by means of technical development. Seen in retrospect, however, it is evident that few tangible changes had materialized in rural Ethiopia during the post-war period up to the time of the revolution.

PART TWO

Chapter 3

THE EVALUATIVE STUDY

A. INTRODUCTION

Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign

Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign, YDLC, in Ethiopia started its operations in 1962 with financial aid from the Lutheran World Federation. More than half a million students had been involved up to 1975. During the school year of 1974/75 1672 schools with a total of 151 000 students were in operation. Most schools were situated in the countryside. A distinguishing feature of these schools was a low input in terms of personnel and equipment. They were also characterized by a high degree of autonomy and local responsibility.

The expressed objectives of the Campaign were:

- to teach participants to read and write Amharic
- to impart basic skills in arithmetic
- to provide a basic social and civic education
- to make literacy work-oriented
- to promote socio-economic changes

Chapter 7 contains an analysis of motives and goals for launching and operating the Campaign.

When the Campaign was initiated the special target group was young adults, defined as individuals aged 15 to 25. It should be pointed out that, according to available figures, 72% of Ethiopia's population was below 30 years of age (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a). The target group was chosen mainly for two reasons. In the first place 15 to 25 is the period when people marry and start families. It was considered important for children to have literate parents. The second reason was that young people were supposed to overcome language difficulties more easily than elderly people do. Since the majority of students in YDLC's literacy schools did not speak Amharic as first language this was regarded as an important factor.

The Campaign also aspired to serve children in areas where no Government schools or other facilities were available. It was, however, never the primary intention of the Campaign to provide formal theoretical education designed to lead to continued studies and white-collar jobs. The emphasis was rather on a functionally oriented instruction in basic skills.

It was furthermore clearly understood that the programme was open to everybody who wanted to attend the schools, irrespective of ethnic group or religion. The aim of the literacy venture was to make as many people as possible literate.

In 1972 the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala granted means for a preliminary study of YDLC. That study gave as result a plan for evaluating the Campaign (Sjöström & Sjöström, 1973). Since the start YDLC had been run under the auspices of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, ECMY, which is also known as EECMY, the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. ECMY approached the Church of Sweden Mission in 1973, suggesting that an evaluative study be conducted. The project was undertaken by CSM, which received financial support for the evaluation from the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA.

Purpose of the evaluative study

In compliance with our assignment the relationship between outcomes and goals was made a central theme for the evaluation. The purpose of the evaluative study is spelt out as follows:

- to assess pedagogic effectiveness in terms of student achievement over time

- to relate achievement to frame factors

- to explore methodological practices in teaching reading in Amharic

- to identify factors conducive to enrolment in the Campaign

- to identify reasons for low female participation.

Evaluation results were intended to serve as a feed-back to YDLC management and as a guide for future operations.

The evaluation team, consisting of the present authors and two Ethiopian counterparts, spent the years 1974-1976 in fieldwork in Ethiopia. A report was presented in spring 1977 (Sjöström & Sjöström, 1977).

Three different sub-studies were undertaken, which are presented separately in Chapters 4, 5 and 6:

- Achievement in literacy over time was measured through a literacy test. The results were related to a number of background variables at individual and school levels.

- Methods of teaching elementary Amharic reading were studied by means of systematic classroom observations.

- Attitudes to education, with emphasis on motivational factors and female participation, were explored by means of interviews with adult villagers and literacy students.

Location of the study

A brief geographic and demographic orientation about the location of our study is provided below.

YDLC was working in twelve of the administrative regions of Ethiopia. Our study was conducted in four areas in different regions, where two schools in each area were selected. The selection of areas and schools is described on pp. 81-82. For the immediate purpose a map of Ethiopia, indicating research areas, is found in Figure 3.1.

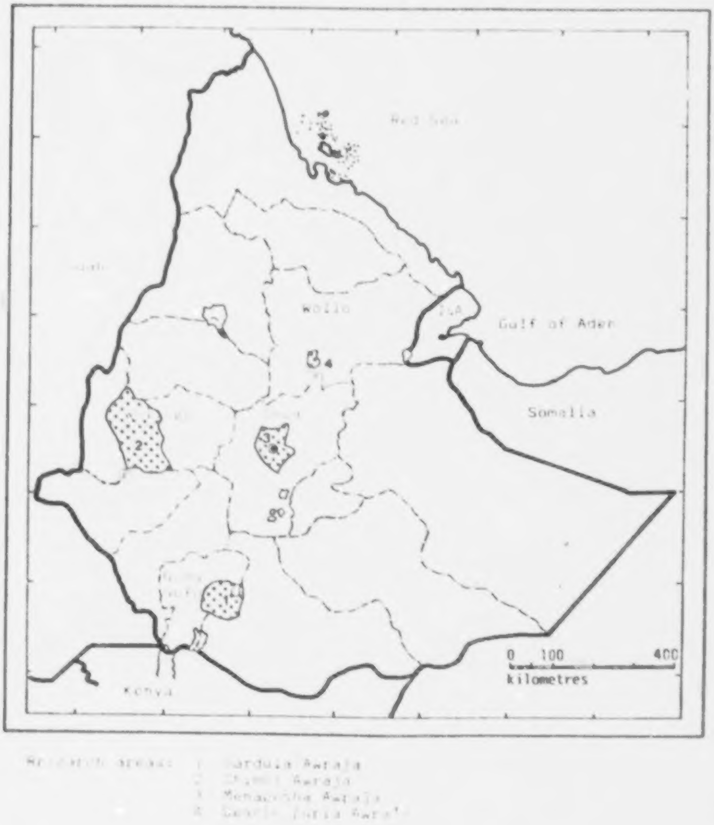
Red Sea
Sudan
Wollo
Gulf of Aden
Somalia
Kenya
1
2
3
4
0
100
400
kilometres
Research areas: 1 Gardula Awraja
2 Ghimbi Awraja
3 Menagesha Awraja
4 Dessie Zuria Awraja

Figure 3.1. Map of Ethiopia, indicating research areas.

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Table 3.1 presents demographic data at awraja level for the areas that were studied. Awraja is a subdivision of administrative region. There are about 100 awrajas which in their turn are divided into more than 500 worredas (Valdelin, 1979).

Table 3.1 Rural population, Literacy and Occupation by Awraja and Research area.

Research area	Awraja	Rural population Male	Female	Total	No of households	Lit. [illegible] Male	Female	Total	[illegible]
Gidole	Gardula	87 280	81 860	169 140	44 [illegible]	3,0[illegible]	0,47	[illegible]	90,1
Nejo	Ghimbi	256 [illegible]	2[illegible]	516 390	110 100	$3,83^{1)}$	$0,[illegible]^{1)}$	$4,0[illegible]^{1)}$	99,7
Dessie	Dessie-Zuria	78 135	54 909	133 045	[illegible]	2,7	0,[illegible]	2,[illegible]	95,[illegible]
Addis Ababa	Menagesha		-	347 [illegible]					
	$Gefarsa^{2)}$	1 418	1 622	3 [illegible]	-	17,5	7,3	[illegible]	$9,85^{3)}$

Notes: - = information not available

1) = refers to Population economically active

2) = refers to the township of Gefarsa in Menagesha Awraja, where one of the Addis schools is located

3) = the figure 9,85 includes forestry 49,5% of the economically active population in Gefarsa belong to the category "Production and related workers", 23,9% are labelled "Sales workers", and 10,9% are "Service workers".

Sources: Central Statistical Office, 1974 a, b; 1975 a, b; excerpts from unpublished manuscripts at CSO, 1976.

B. TRENDS IN EVALUATIVE APPROACHES

After World War II the need for qualified and differentiated work power was strongly felt within the Western World. Thus educational reforms were frequently launched in Western countries, notably so in the United States. The costly reforms were accompanied by increasing demands for evaluation. Planning of education was paired with the expansion of evaluative activities (Franke-Wikberg & Lundgren, 1980; Hamilton, 1976).

Three main characteristics had dominated evaluation research during the first six decades of the century. Tests and refined measurement techniques had become an important feature of evaluation. Secondly, experts were frequently consulted to give their opinion about the phenomenon to be evaluated. The third approach was to relate the outcome of a programme to detailed and specific goals. These approaches attempted to give decision-makers information about efficiency of programmes and rate of goal fulfilment (Franke-Wikberg & Johansson, 1975).

As education expanded, its goals underwent changes. To the goal of efficiency in terms of specific skills and knowledge were added political and social goals, such as equality and personal development. The change of goals in education brought new and exacting demands on the evaluator. Measuring social development and self-realization accentuated the need for new evaluational approaches.

An account of the development of evaluation strategies during the sixties and early seventies is given by among others Franke-Wikberg & Johansson (1975). In the course of the last two decades a considerable number of evaluation models have been produced. In order to compare and assess these, classifications have been developed by among others Franke-Wikberg & Johansson (1975), Franke-Wikberg & Lundgren (1980), House (1978), Stake (1976) and Worthern & Sanders (1973).

The evaluative models are indispensable tools for planning an evaluation enterprise. It is, however, seldom if ever, possible to apply a certain evaluation model in toto to a specific situation. The model selected as the most appropriate one has to be adapted to the specific needs of the research object.

The models referred to above have been constructed for evaluation of educational enterprises in the United States and in Western Europe in the first place. Since the object of our study is located in a different political, economic and cultural setting, the relevance of such models could be questioned. Is it possible to apply evaluative models that are strongly West-oriented to developing countries in the Third World? In an attempt to find an answer to such riddles we are going to discuss a number of evaluative approaches, which we consider relevant for the YDLC evaluation.

The previously mentioned Experimental World Literacy Programme, EWLP, (see p. 15) became important not only as promotor of literacy, but also by the evaluative efforts that characterized the programme. Due to EWLP's character of an experiment in functional literacy, a premium was placed on evaluation. The EWLP approach to evaluation was strongly influenced by a Unesco-published handbook for field-workers, Hayes (1969). Hayes' manual is not specifically geared to literacy programmes, but addresses development projects at large. His approach is characterized by a preference for quantitative data collected and analyzed in a systematic and rigorous way. There is an obvious concern for programme effectiveness as reflected in attainment of expressed objectives. The evaluation's utility for decision making is also stressed.

Trying to locate Hayes in the context of evaluation models he seems to fall into the category of systems analysis. See for instance Franke-Wikberg & Lundgren, 1980, and House, 1978.

The impact of Hayes' ideas are reflected in a definition of evaluation formulated at Unesco's fourteenth General Conference in 1966, where evaluation is seen as studies permitting rigorous scientific measurements of the effects of specific projects (Unesco, 1970 b). Similar views were expressed at a Unesco workshop on the Evaluation of Functional Literacy Projects held in London 1969 (Wood, 1969). This attitude to evaluation is also clearly visible in the manual for experimental literacy projects. which was published by Unesco (Unesco, 1970 b). The manual emphasizes the desirability of quantitative data. Evaluation should be goal-oriented and provide decision-makers with pertinent information. Cost-benefit analysis was recommended as an evaluative tool.

Bhola (1973) discussing the Unesco Experimental World Literacy Programme, EWLP, underlines the function of evaluation as assistance to decision-makers. In his article on literacy evaluation Bhola also brings to the fore the systems concept. He goes on to propose an evaluation model, which seems to draw heavily on the so-called CIPP-model (Guba & Stufflebeam, 1970), which is clearly a variant of the decision model. Bhola's ideas of literacy evaluation place him together with proponents of systems analysis and decision models. Compare Franke-Wikberg & Lundgren, 1980 and House, 1978.

In a critical appraisal of the EWLP evaluation effort (Unesco/UNDP. 1976) certain weaknesses were identified. First of all there seems to have existed a confusion concerning the purposes of evaluation as well as the objectives of the literacy programme. Hence it was difficult to carry out rational planning and to measure progress. The quantitatively oriented design incurred drawbacks of its own, among others a tendency to ignore information of a qualitative nature. The sophisticated research methodology raised the professional demands on staff to a level, which sometimes made it difficult to find national staff for the evaluation.

An underlying assumption of EWLP was that functional literacy would lead to increased productivity, irrespective of local or national conditions. The evaluative programme was supposed to provide data which confirmed this assumption. Thus the information had to be internationally comparative, which lead to centrally conceived evaluation guidelines, overlooking local circumstances.

An important lesson to be drawn from the EWLP evaluation exprience is that the application of Western-oriented evaluation models in countries with different cultural and economic structures entails certain problems. For one thing evaluative criteria reflect ethnocentric valuations. As an example EWLP evaluation criteria such as possession of durable goods represent valuations that are rooted in affluent countries of the industrialized world.

The EWLP exercise in evaluation has produced valuable insights, which have been translated into a document for future literacy evaluation (Unesco/UNDP, 1976). Among other things the necessity to be conscious of the cultural context of each evaluation object is stressed. Evaluation designs developed for a particular society should not be transposed to other societies in a mechanical way.

The discussion of EWLP is of particular interest for the YDLC study, since it deals with evaluation in milieus that differ radically from those in Western industrialized countries. Methodological problems facing the YDLC evaluation team resembled in many respects those experienced by EWLP.

C. THE STRATEGY OF THE YDLC EVALUATION

The evaluation assignment given to us implied the task of gathering information to serve as feed-back to the campaign management and as a guide for future operations of the literacy campaign. Principal issues brought forward by the campaign management were pedagogic efficiency, how to increase motivation among the adult population to enrol in the campaign, and reasons for the low female participation.

In the preceding pages we have described the predominant strategies for evaluation of development programmes at that time. The approach we opted for is in the terms of House's (1978) taxonomy related to in the first place behavioral objectives and decision making. One consequence of our approach is that goals and objectives are taken for granted by the evaluators. It also means that the evaluation activities place strong emphasis on programme efficiency as well as on the need to provide the campaign management with information designed to serve operational decisions.

As our work progressed we found it necessary, however, to give more attention to the YDLC goals. Consequently they are analyzed in Chapter 7.

Our evaluation design with its principal elements of frames, process and outcomes is motivated by the purpose of the study, which involves a broad spectrum of interrelated factors. These concepts have been frequently utilized in evaluation research. See for instance Franke-Wikberg & Johansson (1975) and Lundgren (1972).

A noted Swedish researcher in the field of education, whose studies have served decision-making purposes is Urban Dahllöf. He has laid the groundwork for the application of the frame concept in evaluation in Sweden (Dahllöf, 1967, 1969, 1971 a, 1971 b). The concept has been further developed by in the first place Lundgren (1972, 1979). Dahllöf (1978) defines the concept of frames as factors which constrain the instructional process going on at school and over which those who teach and those who are taught have no control.

> "[illegible] means that such environmental factors are subject to manipulation [illegible] the system itself while they act as fixed frames at lower [illegible] of the system until the next change is made" (p. 48).

He suggests several categories of frame factors: administrative, physical, ecological and pedagogical.

Basically we adher to Dahllöf's conception of frame factors, as quoted above. It should be kept in mind, however, that Dahllöf's frame concept is constructed for a national compulsory school system, functioning in an industrialized setting. Such a system is highly centralized regarding factors such as organization, curriculum, objectives, resources and syllabus. YDLC as an educational system differs from Dahllöf's context on several important points. YDLC was a voluntary enterprise, with few uniform regulations, operating in a multicultural environment in a developing society. Campaign schools were characterized by a high degree of local autonomy.

Thus we have found it necessary to modify and extend his categories of frame factors. Consequently a category of economic frames was added, since the literacy schools were not controlled by uniform regulations concerning teacher's salaries, school fees, costs for text books etc. It was within the power of each local community to decide in these matters, which lead to considerable variations between schools.

For the purpose of the present study frame factors are regarded from the point of view of the local literacy school. In our study frame factors are defined in a way which is spelt out in the following. The frame factors are divided into five categories, each containing a number of sub-categories.

Administrative frames are organization, policy and financing of YDLC as well as personnel at different levels of the system. As physical frame factors are treated school buildings with furniture and equipment. By ecological frame factors we understand literacy level in the area, distance to school, predominant language and religion. Under the heading of pedagogic frame factors fall teaching aids, teachers' training and other qualifications, methods implied by the structure of the textbooks, time at disposal for students, and student/teacher ratios. Economic frame factors finally, are teachers' salaries, students' fees, and supply of textbooks.

PROCESS in the present study is taken to mean the process of literacy instruction in YDLC classrooms.

OUTCOMES are assessed at two different levels:

a) achievement in literacy

b) the relevancy of skills and knowledge acquired at the literacy school to perceived needs in the community.

FRAME FACTORS are accounted for in detail in the following pages. The administrative frames will be described separately, while the remaining four categories of frames are treated together in a thorough description of the research areas and sample schools.

A DESCRIPTION OF PHYSICAL, ECOLOGICAL, PEDAGOGIC AND ECONOMIC FRAME FACTORS

It should be noted that it was not possible to obtain demographic data at village level from official sources. The facts presented in this section emanate from our own observations in the field.

The information about sample schools is summarized on p. 74.

Area 1, Gidole

Gemu Gofa is considered one of the least developed of the administrative regions. The population has been estimated at 730 700 (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a). The majority of the people are engaged in agricultural activities. Sidamas and Oromos are the dominant ethnic groups. The Oromos expanded before Gemu Gofa was incorporated in Ethiopia, adding to cultural and linguistic plurality. An abundance of dialects complicates communication even between neighbouring villages.

The religious picture is dominated by various traditional beliefs, co-existing with the Orthodox creed and Islam (Markakis, 1975). The Orthodox faith was forcibly introduced at the time of Menilek's crusade against the Southern provinces. Much of the land was at the same time bestowed on people from other provinces, who lived in Addis Ababa and were "foreigners" to their own tenants.

Level of literacy is the lowest in the whole of Ethiopia, 2,8% (Central Statistical Office, 1974 b). YDLC has reported considerable progress in its literacy efforts in Gemu Gofa.

School 1.1

This school is situated about 45 kms outside the township of Gidole in Gardula Worreda, Gemu Gofa, at an altitude of about 1 500 metres. The school was established in 1973 on the initiative of the local people. The site of the school and the building were donated by village-dwellers. The schoolhouse is a traditional structure, measuring 6 x 7 metres. No physical equipment except a blackboard and a few posters were to be found. In this school 28 boys were taught by a male teacher, a 28-year-old bachelor. He was a native of Dergelle near Gidole and spoke Gidoligna as his first language. Since most of the students were Gatigna-speaking there were certain communication problems in this school. The teacher had eight years of schooling and had attended a two-week inspector's training course for literacy teachers. He had been working as a teacher for three years, and received a monthly salary of 30 Birr as well as free board and lodging. The teacher told us that he also taught an evening class for adults once a week. A small school fee was collected from the students. All 27 day-students in the school were included in our study.

When we first visited the school in February 1975 no local school committee existed according to the teacher. Later in the year, however, a committee seems to have been formed with an ECMY evangelist as chairman. There was an ECMY congregation in this village, but most of the people appeared to adhere to traditional beliefs.

The village is fairly small, built on a hill, while cultivated land is found down in the valley. An extremely rough dry-weather road leads to the village. According to local dwellers malaria is the most common disease. Agriculture is the principal occupation. The chief crop is sorghum. The staple food is a type of bread called kukurfa. The nearest market used to be Gidole at a walking distance of three hours. However, a new market place is planned at about one hour's walk from the village.

The houses in the village stand very close to each other. We were informed that the households were divided into two groups, or subvillages. Most social activities were confined to the group where a certain household belonged.

The original school was closed down at the end of the school year 1974/75 since a new government school had been opened at about half an hour's walk from the village. This school catered to children from several villages in the neighbourhood, and had a total of about 200 students. The new school seemed to possess better facilities than the old literacy school. Most of the students from school 1.1 joined the government school in October 1975.

Even if the day-school did not exist any longer, evening classes were continuing with a new teacher. The school was administered by a school committee, chaired by one of the farmers. The new teacher declared that the most pressing problem for the school was the scarcity of books. As to possible solutions he suggested asking assistance from the worreda Administrator.

An important consequence of the Land Reform, proclaimed in March 1975, was the formation of Peasant Associations (PA) in the countryside. These bodies were charged with considerable responsibilities, for instance that of schooling. Thus, the local PA was entrusted with running the literacy school. However, the services rendered by YDLC (distribution of LWF-grants and YDLC-teaching materials, inspection of schools) were not discontinued.

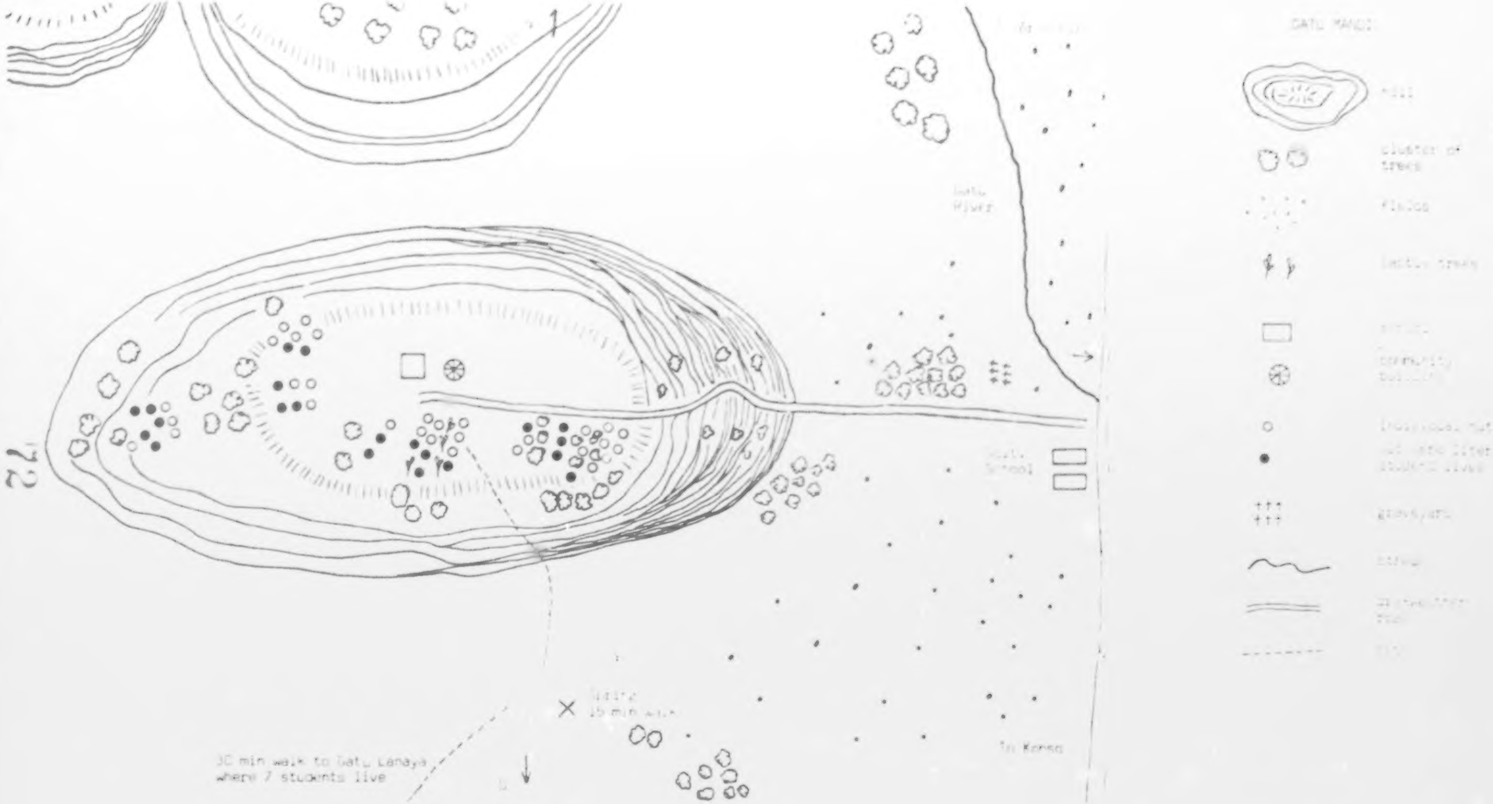
DATU MANDI
hill
cluster of trees
fields
cactus trees
school
community building
individual hut
hut where literacy student lives
graveyard
river
all-weather road
path
Datu River
Datu School
To Konso
15 min walk
30 min walk to Datu Lanaya where 7 students live

Figure 3.2. Informal map of village 1.1.

School 1.2

Our second school in the Gidole area is located at a distance of about 35 kms from the town of Gidole. A reasonably good dry-weather road climbs to the centre of the village. The village is fairly large, with about 1 000 households, and situated at an altitude of 1 300 metres.

A pattern similar to the one found in the previous village is apparent also here. People live in the hills and work the land in the valley. Agriculture is the sole occupation with sorghum as main crop. Gidole market, at a walking distance of 2.5 hours serves as an outlet for their produce. The nearest clinic is also at Gidole. The most serious problem facing the community was allegedly the lack of medical facilities in the village. Malaria is reported to be the most widespread disease.

The Evangelical Christians seem to have a more dominant position than in the village of school 1.1. But traditional beliefs are not rare. Orthodox Christians are also found in the area. The vernacular spoken in this village is called Gidoligna.

The school was started around 1970 on the initiative of the ECMY congregation in the village. Members of this group seem to have provided the site and the school building. It is a typical local construction and situated in the centre of the village. A blackboard is the sole piece of physical equipment. A small library of follow-up books is found at the school. Out of the 73 students enlisted in March 1975 only one was a girl. Sixty-two of these participated in our study. The teacher reported that there were evening classes, where a number of female students took part.

School 1.2 was competently run by the local school committee and the four teachers. One of the teachers was a woman. The most qualified of the teachers had finished grade 8. All of them stated that they had received a couple of weeks' inspector's training for their work. We noticed that many students lacked books.

In October 1975 the responsibility for running the school was handed over to the local PA. Only one of the old teachers stayed on, and two new teachers were employed. There had evidently been severe problems at the initial stage. The assistance from YDLC was intended to continue, but the administration was to be handled exclusively by the PA. They seem to have had difficulties in getting books and chalks to the school, partly owing to financial problems. The school was officially to be opened in the first week of October, but the start appears to have been late. This delay caused YDLC to postpone the distribution of the yearly grant from LWF, since the rule is that a school must be reported as functioning properly, before the grant can be disbursed.

The school was reopened later in the year but shortage of materials remained an obstacle. The teachers complained that they did not receive their salaries regularly. They were nevertheless apparently under pressure to carry on with their teaching. Evening classes continued as before, but participants found it hard to get hold of books.

Area 2, Nejo

Western Wollega is sometimes regarded as one of the most progressive parts of Ethiopia. If the literacy rate is a reliable index of development, Wollega is doing very well indeed with 7%, the highest official literacy rate of all the administrative regions (Central Statistical Office, 1974 c). According to a General Agriculture Survey carried out by the Henna Project in Ghimbi Awraja, it may even be as high as 8,8% (Sanna, 1975). The same agency places the literacy level in a few of the worredas at 17%. The area is ethnically dominated by the Oromos. The population is estimated at 1 297 600 (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a). The old traditional beliefs have survived up to modern time. When the Orthodox Church expanded during Menelik's era the adjustment seems to have been comparatively smooth in Wollega. Protestant missions of various denominations appeared during the latter part of the 19th century.

When our study was initiated in 1974, Nejo in Ghimbi Awraja was considered one of the most promising areas of YDLC activities. It was the largest of the Literacy Centres in Wollega and reported a substantial interest among both children and adults. Nejo is a cash crop area, coffee and teff being the most important produce. However, during the last few years the growing of coffee seems to have decreased. The influence of the above-mentioned Henna Project may have caused a general improvement in the aspiration level and in the living conditions of the people.

School 2.1

School 2.1 is situated in Western Wollega about 500 kms from Addis Ababa. It can be reached by jeep from the town of Nejo at a distance of 30 kms. Location 2.1 is part of Jarso Worreda, with close to 40 000 inhabitants. The estimated literacy rate is 15% in the worreda, compared to 8,8% in Wollega (Sanna, 1975) and 4,7% in rural Ethiopia. This area is situated in the cultivated highlands of Western Wollega in the solid Oromo country. Predominant crops are cereals such as teff, maize and sorghum. The altitude is about 1 800 meters.

Major problems confronting the community are lack of medical facilities and poor communications with the town of Nejo. The incidence of malaria and malnutrition is reportedly very high. This area is referred to as a town or "katama", and indeed a visitor sees a conglomeration of huts and houses interspersed with a few shops and drinking places. Modern amenities, such as telephones and electricity, are non-existant.

Literacy school 2.1, located 500 metres outside the "town", was established in 1968. It was founded by the man who served as worreda Administrator at that time. We were told that landowners had objected to the school, since they feared that people who received education would no longer accept exploitation. A school committee has been responsible for the management of the school. It had seven members and conducted its meetings at the school.

The local Peasant Association became entrusted with running the literacy school in 1976. Services normally carried out by YDLC have been continued, however.

In our interviews with the teachers about problems in the past, we learned that parents had found it very hard to afford the school fee. The fee was 4,50 Birr per year in March 1975. Our informants also told us that children tended to be absent since they were needed as labour, and that parents failed to realize the benefits of education.

A matter of concern for teachers was the infrequency of inspectors visits to the schools, caused by practical hindrances. Solutions that were proposed recommended employment of an additional inspector and equipping the inspector with a vehicle of some sort; a motorbike or a jeep.

A description of the physical features of school 2.1 includes the following items.

Overall measurements: the main building 5 x 30 meters
the annexe 5 x 12 meters.
Number of classrooms: 7.
Building materials: local, mud and wooden poles
Roofing: corrugated tin
Flooring: trodden earth
Lightning: doors and window openings
Seating: logs arranged as long benches.

Football which seemed to be a favourite sport was played in a spacious playground. Four teachers were attached to the school. The most qualified of them had 10 years of schooling and had attended a course given by an inspector.

Our sample was composed of 74 students from grades 1 and 3.

School 2.2

This neighbourhood has many characteristics in common with the locality just described, situated as it is in the undulating hills of Western Wollega, 1 900 metres above sea level, and accomodating a predominantly agrarian population. School 2.2 is located in Nejo Worreda containing around 63 000 inhabitants. The literacy rate is reported as 9% of the population above the age of 10 (Sanna, 1975). In the dry season the school can be reached from Nejo, 25 kms away, by means of a four-wheel vehicle. The school is based at the local ECMY congregation centre, the church-building serving the double function of worship and education. To reach the nearest habitation requires a 15 minutes' walk.

The school was founded in 1973, and has been administered by a school committee. This assembly consisted of seven members and was convened for monthly meetings held on the school premises. Like school 2.1 this establishment had been handed over to the local Peasant Association. A constant frustration was apparently caused by non-payment of school fees. School 2.2, alas, did not deviate from this pattern. Owing to administrative problems the LWF grant had not been distributed in due time, which evidently aggravated the financial crisis.

When we visited the school in February 1976 the PA had gathered to debate school finances. The meeting decided that each member - whether or not he sent children to school - was to be asked to contribute regularly to the school. A collection of one Birr per head was effectuated on the spot.

The school had four classrooms at its disposal in three separate buildings, occupying an area of 160 square metres. Unfortunately, one house was destroyed in a fire in the spring of 1976. Schoolchildren use to play in the open space between the church and the grave-yard.

The teaching staff consisted of three young men from the neighbourhood. Education of the most qualified teacher included 8 years of elementary-secondary schooling plus two months of inspector's training. At our first visit the school had 88 students. Sixty-three individuals from grades 1-3 were included in the evaluation sample.

Area 3, Metropolitan Addis

About 90% of the Ethiopian people live in rural areas. During the last decade there has been a marked increase in migration to the big cities. The calculated increment of the Addis Ababa population is about 7% per year, out of which 5,6% is due to immigrants (Central Statistical Office, 1972). There are various reasons for people moving towards big cities. One obvious driving force seems to be the hope of formal education or vocational training. The famine in the early seventies compelled a number of persons to leave their villages and seek whatever means of subsistence they could find in the cities.

Addis Ababa has received a large share of the migrants. The industrial belt south of Addis may have evoked hopes of employment. Educational facilities are better in Addis than anywhere else in the country. Addis and its surroundings has developed into a kind of big melting pot, where a multitude of ethnic groups have come together.

The choice of two schools in the Addis region was determined by the above circumstances. Both are situated within Menagesha Awraja. The idea was to compare the progress of schools in this heterogeneous context with those situated in a comparatively unchanging and uniform rural environment.

School 3.1

School 3.1 was located in a township about 10 kms from central Addis Ababa. The town had an estimated population of 3 690 in 1974 (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a). School 3.1 is situated at a short distance from the main road to Ambo.

The majority of the economically active population are classified as production and related workers. As little as about one tenth are engaged in agriculture and forestry. Close to one in four is literate, which is an exceptionally high level compared to the country as a whole.

School 3.1 was founded in 1972 and operated under the auspices of the Gulale ECMY-congregation of Addis Ababa. It was governed by a local school committee. Teaching took place in a rented building originally intended as a dwelling-house, and solidly built with a tin roof, a flooring of trodden earth and mud-plasterad walls decorated with old newspapers. Students were seated on long benches without armrests. The school compound contained a playground of limited proportions. Most people in this neighbourhood were Orthodox Christians. Oromo and Amharic were the principal languages. The school ran on a two-shift schedule with one group studying in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

When urban land and extra houses were nationalized in August 1975 school 3.1 had to vacate its rented premises. Representatives for the school management tried to solve the accomodation problem, but without success. As a consequence the school could not continue its activities in that neighbourhood. A replacement for school 3.1 was later established near the Ambo road but at a considerable distance from the old locality. Not a single student seems to have followed the school to its new site.

The research sample from this school was formed by 91 students. 45 of these moved to a government school in the area, when school 3.1 ceased to operate. We managed to obtain information about some of the other students in the sample. It was not possible to get any information at all about 25 students, who were selected at the beginning of the study.

School 3.2

School 3.2 also operates in the Addis Ababa area. Location 3.2 is a town on the Wolisso-Jimma road, 30 kms south-west of the capital. Central Statistical Office (1976 a) quotes the population figure as 4 670. A large segment of the population is economically dependent on agriculture, marketing a produce of cereals and vegetables in Addis Ababa or selling it on market days in town. A sizeable processing industry is situated in the vicinity. Dominant languages are Oromo and Amharic. Judging from available information there seems to be a majority of Orthodox Christians, a large group of Muslims and a minority of Evangelical Christians. Unemployment, shortage of water and inadequate housing are reported as urgent problems for the town-dwellers.

The school was established in 1974 and is sponsored by the ECMY-congregation of Entotto in Addis Ababa. A certain opposition to the founding of the school was encountered from Orthodox Christians who were reluctant to accept Protestant activities in the locality.

The school committee had been disbanded since people felt that it was not tuned to the new political situation. A new committee was, however, planned to be formed in the near future.

School fees were paid monthly and varied according to grade:

Grade:	Fee:
1a	0,50 Birr
1b	1.--
2	1.25
3	1.50
4	2.--
5	2.50

39 poor students were exempted from fees as reported in June -76. Difficulties in collecting school fees is reportedly due to poverty among parents. Other problems are caused by inadequate supplies of books and a shortage of space for teaching.

School 3.2 was of a considerably higher standard than other campaign schools, visited by the team, in terms of buildings, equipment and staffing. There was adequate sanitation, drinking water, and a playground for games and recreation. The school took pride in a well kept garden, where assorted vegetables were cultivated. Students were seated on benches with desk and seat in one piece. A supply of follow-up books was also to be found. The most qualified teacher had finished the 11th grade and had received training at an inspector's course.

A total of 374 students were registered in March 1975. 79 students from grades 1 and 3 constitute the evaluation sample. In June 1976 the total enrolment had decreased to 293.

Area 4, Dessie

Wollo gained dubious fame in the early seventies as one of the areas which were hit hardest by draught and famine. The plateau country in the West contains areas of rich agricultural land, bordering on the arid Danakil Desert in the East. Most people live off the land, since there are few other means available. The figure 2 570 200 (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a) is given for the population; the literacy rate is very low, 2,9% (Central Statistical Office, 1974 c).

Oromos invaded the country during the 17th century. They gradually became so powerful that the Gondar dynasty had to lean on them for support against provincial clan leaders. During this area Islam saw a period of expansion, partly because the Oromos became predominantly Muslims. It seems, however, that Muslims did not gain any administrative influence, since they were usually barred from governmental posts (Markakis, 1975; Ullendorff, 1973).

In Dessie Zuria Awraja, which counted a population of 133 000 (Central Statistical Office, 1976 b), YDLC operated a number of schools in the Muslim villages. Dessie Zuria does not include the township of Dessie. This part of the country had not been exposed to the famine in the early seventies to the same extent as the Eastern parts of Wollo. YDLC was disappointed at the results obtained in the area. Despite substantial financial aid the outcome seemed limited. It should also be mentioned that the people here speak Amharic as their first language in spite of their Oromo origin.

School 4.1

One of the investigation schools was situated in Kutaber Worreda, west of the township of Dessie. The hilly landscape is difficult to travel through, steep and rugged with deepcut mountain streams. The only way of reaching the village is by foot or on muleback. At an altitude of 2 575 metres there is a village of about 800 households, where the whole population is Muslim and Amharic-speaking.

The village's main crops are teff and soya beans. The beans are marketed at Vorkaria, at about two hours' walk from the village. A larger market is found in the township of Dessie. Local people considered the lack of medical facilities to be their most pressing problem. They also complained about the lack of a road to the village. Typhus was mentioned as a common disease.

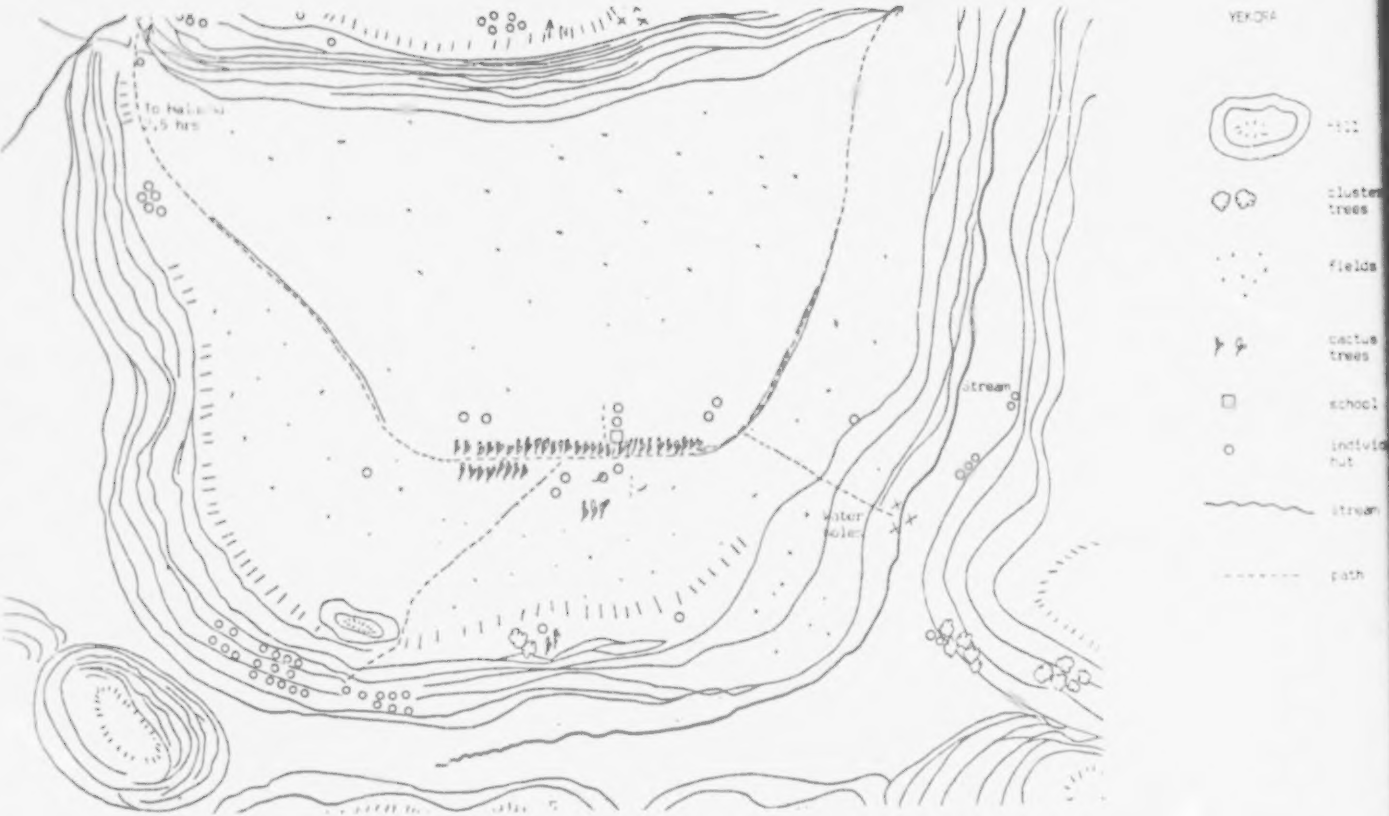
To Ha
.5 hrs
stream
water
hole
YEKORA
hill
cluste
trees
fields
cactus
trees
school
individ
hut
stream
path

Figure 3.3. Informal map of village 4.1.

The Literacy School started in 1970 on the initiative of the present teacher, who is the only Christian in the village. He taught without pay for the first two years but is now receiving a salary of 15 Birr per month. The school building in the centre of the village is very small, 4 x 3,70 metres, and not adequate for the number of students using it. When we visited the school for the first time in April 1975, a total of 88 students were enrolled; 28 of these were girls. 55 students took part in our study. One single teacher was charged with all the instruction. The school activities were usually confined to the mornings.

When the evaluation team returned in November 1975 the school situation had deteriorated. The question of a site for a larger school building had not yet been settled. The teacher had been told that if he continued to receive payment for his teaching he would not be allotted a plot to cultivate under the new land law. He consequently pondered the possibility to give up teaching and become a farmer. YDLC's policy of handing over the responsibility for the school to the local PA had caused some worry and confusion. The people felt let down and also - with some justification - thought that there were more immediate needs to attend to than education. Severe disturbances had occurred in connection with the land reform in this area. Threats against schools and students had been mouthed by the former landlords. Many parents were therefore afraid of sending their children to school. The school was in session only a few hours in the early morning and then the students had to return home.

When we visited the school in March 1976 only 20 from the original group of students still attended this school. The more advanced of them had moved to a government school in the vicinity. The future of 4.1 appears uncertain. The educational standard of the few remaining students seemed very low.

School 4.2

The second school in Dessie Zuria is also situated in Kutaber Worreda. It is located in a Muslim village in the hills, a mule-track being the only existing link with other villages. There are about 100 households in the vicinity of the school, at an altitude of 2 850 metres. The climate is chilly; people suffer a lot from colds. Tuberculosis together with typhus are reported as the most common diseases.

The school was started in 1971 on the initiative of the school inspector. A farmer in the village granted the use of a small building, about 15 square metres, for the school. This person is also chairman of the local school committee.

The teacher was 24 years old and married. He has had only four years of schooling. His monthly pay was 14 Birr. He claimed that he could not live on his salary and that he would not be eligible for land if he continued to receive pay for his teaching. His case was further complicated by the fact that he lived in a different village from the one where he taught.

When we first came to this school we found 34 students, out of whom 3 were girls. The teacher told us that parents were reluctant to send their girls to school, since educated girls might have difficulties in finding husbands. Students in this school appeared less advanced than those we had met at the other sample schools. The scarcity of teaching aids was striking.

When we returned to 4.2 in November 1975 we found the school in a bad condition. The school building had deteriorated to such an extent that it was not fit to be used for its purpose any longer. A number of the more advanced students had moved to a government school within walking distance. The rest of the students seemed to receive very limited instruction. A few parents complained that the teacher did not do his job, but nobody seemed to be willing to take the initiative to bring about a change.

This village was one of those which had been affected by the disturbances in connection with the land reform. Some students were said to have ceased attending school after the local fighting in September 1975.

When the team visited this village for the last time in March 1976 it was not possible to conduct the complete retesting of students as planned. No building was available for this purpose and the few students we could find had evidently lost some of the skills they possessed a year ago. It may well be that the village will lose its school. The local PA had virtually no resources and it was evident to us that they felt other community needs than education more urgent.

Area and school	Total number of students in school 1975					No of teachers	Latrine	Water supply	No of classrooms	Walking distance to nearest school	Remarks
	Male children	Female children	Male adults	Female adults	Total						
Gidole 1.1	28	0	0	0	28	1	No	No	1	180 min	Nightschool for adults and child. Dayschool closed autumn 1975
Gidole 1.2	72	1	0	0	73	3	No	No	2	60 min	Nightschool for adults and child. Follow-up books kept by teachers
Nejo 2.1	-	-	-	-	204	4	Yes	No	7	50 min	Logs arranged as benches
Nejo 2.2	-	-	-	-	88	3	Yes	No	4	75 min	Garden. Adult classes. 2 classrooms destroyed by fire 1976. Long-benches
Addis Ababa 3.1	64	49	0	0	113	2	No	No	2	10 min	Follow-up books, school working two-shift morning-afternoon. School closed in autumn 1975 long-benches
Addis Ababa 3.2	118	124	81	51	374	5	Yes	Yes	6	10 min	Garden, follow-up books, schoolbenches
Dessie Zuria 4.1	40	28	20	0	88	1	No	No	1	90	Working halfday No school-fees
Dessie Zuria 4.2	23	3	8	0	[illegible]	1	No	No	1	70	Working halfday

Figure 3.4. Summarized information on sample schools.

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ADMINISTRATIVE FRAME FACTORS

Organization

YDLC was one of the four divisions of Yemissrach Dimts Massmedia Programme, which was the outcome of ecumenical cooperation. Lutheran World Federation has played an important role ever since the outset as the principal financial backer of YDLC. The most important of the religious organizations behind the Literacy Campaign was the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, ECMY. YDLC has made use of the administrative apparatus of the church for its literacy operations. The administrative pattern which was introduced at the beginning of the programme can be represented as follows:

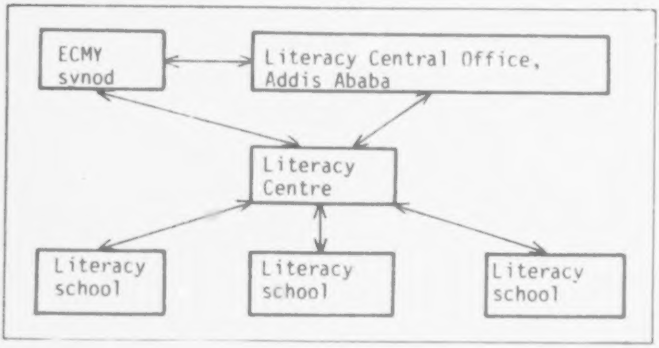

ECMY synod
Literacy Central Office, Addis Ababa
Literacy Centre
Literacy school
Literacy school
Literacy school

Figure 3.5. Organization of YDLC.

The function of the Central Office of YDLC can be summarized as follows:

- to distribute funds, and to receive and compile reports and statistics

- to supervise the work and advise the Literacy Centres. This is accomplished through field visits and inspection tours

- to be in charge of the training of inspectors

- to produce printed materials such as manuals and curricula

- to carry out evaluation and research

- to assist the Yemissrach Dimts Literature Department in preparing books for the Literacy Campaign and for new literates

The functions of the Literacy Centres were mainly:

- to encourage the communities to establish literacy work in the villages

- to distribute grants and books received from YDLC's Central Office

- to report on the literacy work

- to be responsible for inspection of literacy work.

YDLC has nowadays ceased to exist as an organizational and administrative entity. The campaign has been integrated with the social development operations of the Mekane Yesus Church. Beginning in 1975 the literacy schools have been in a process of transfer to the local Peasant Associations. LWF and ECMY have, however, continued to support the schools.

Financing

The Lutheran World Federation has sponsored the project since its start in 1962. For the year 1974/75 the grant amounted to 414 000 Birr. Every school has been receiving a yearly grant of 175 Birr. The remainder of the gift from the Lutheran World

Federation has been used for administration, travelling, training of personnel, evaluation, and the running of pilot projects.

It should be noted that per capita costs have been remarkably modest. According to an estimate from 1973, the running expenses for keeping a student at school in grades 1-3 were 12 Birr per year.

The local communities had to assume certain responsibilities for the running of schools in order to be eligible for receiving the annual grant from LWF. Thus they were supposed to contribute whatever means were required over and above the YDLC grant. This was partly done by providing the school-house and being responsible for its upkeep. The students sometimes had to pay a fee, which could vary from 1.50 Birr a year to 2.50 Birr per month.

Policy

A fundamental characteristic of YDLC was a large amount of autonomy at the local level. The congregation and other community groups carried the responsibility for employing teachers, building school-houses and administering funds. The local ECMY congregations have frequently been at the centre of the activities. The Literacy School should, however, be viewed as the work of the entire community.

Responsibility at the local level included the following undertakings

- to establish a school committee
- to employ and pay teachers
- to procure a place for the teaching
- to see to it that a minimum of 15 participants were enrolled.

One important policy aspect was to make literacy education available for everybody who wanted to attend school irrespective of ethnic group or religion. The campaign moreover address itself in the first place to adults, primarily in the age group 15-25 years. In order to avoid duplication of resources, it was stipulated that there should be a distance of at least five kilometres between any two YDLC schools. YDLC also elected to concentrate its operations to rural areas.

Personnel

At no time were more than five persons engaged in administrative duties at the Central Office in Addis Ababa. It has already been stated that the policy of YDLC was to delegate as much as possible of the administrative responsibilities to the local bodies. At the synod level the existing church administration was utilized for campaign purposes.

Within each synod a number of inspectors were employed. Their duties consisted in inspecting schools and advising and training literacy teachers. About 70 inspectors were employed at the time of the field phase of our study. The number of schools within a literacy centre varied from 20 to 80. The inspectors were usually graduates from the government's training colleges for teachers. Before they took up their tasks within the campaign they usually attended a course in Addis Ababa, where they were given training in literacy methodology as well as a special course in administration. Every year during the rainy season refresher courses were organized for all inspectors. During these sessions current problems in the literacy work were discussed.

The literacy teachers were usually appointed by the local school committees or the local communities.

RESEARCH FRAMES

The practical conditions which we as pedagogic researchers were confronted with deserve a section of its own. We might also speak of the frames within the constraints of which we had to try and carry out our task. In the following we shall attempt to describe the "research frames" - the reality which was the scene for our research activities.

We shall start with the general political situation which was very fluid and unstable during the whole field period from August 1974 up to June 1976. Ethiopia was in the process of radical political changes which rightly deserve to be described as a revolution. The autumn of 1974 saw accelerated political activities. About a month after our arrival in the country the emperor was deposed. Rumours of dramatical and violent events abounded. It was difficult to move about freely in town, or anywhere for that matter, after dark. A curfew was imposed which lasted during the whole of our sejour.

Our arrival in Ethiopia was delayed a couple of months due to matters of formality. As a consequence we lost the opportunity to participate in a much needed crash course in the Amharic language, which would have built on the elementary knowledge we had acquired while still in Sweden. At our belated arrival in Ethiopia we were faced with the problem of finding living as well as working quarters, which meant that still more precious time was lost from preparations for the field study.

One of the most pressing research tasks facing us was to develop reading tests, since there were no such instruments available which were applicable to our study.

During the first four months we also carried out selection of research areas and schools. Sitting at our desks in Sweden we had envisioned a neat statistical sampling procedure in compliance with the rules of random sampling. On the actual location, however, we soon found out that such a strategy was not practicable, given the way schools were situated and the lack of relevant information concerning them. After consulting knowledgeable persons in Addis Ababa we set out on a tour of reconnaissance, which took us to the far corners of Ethiopia. We were met with considerable understanding and patience from school administrators and others to whom we presented our plans and intentions. During a trip to the North we heard over the radio that the revolution had taken a violent course when about 60 politicans from the ancien régime were executed.

The design of our study required us to travel extensively. And in those days of political unrest travelling was a delicate and occasionally risky undertaking. In spite of the unstable conditions, however, we did not meet with any serious incidents. A complication which emerged midway of our research programme was a constant shortage of fuel for motor vehicles.

When we prepared a field trip one of our main concerns was to arrange for transportation in the field, which ranged from cross-country vehicles to mules. It was not possible to find out beforehand whether a certain school was in operation, if the roads were practicable, or if the political situation was safe. The telephone network did not cover the remote areas or was frequently out of order. Neither was communication by post possible. The radio communication system set up by private organizations in nearby towns was usually our sole means of communication with the field areas.

However, it was never possible to get information in advance whether a certain school was actually in session. It occurred for instance that schools were closed because the teachers were on strike for non-payment of salaries. At another instance the school was closed for the reason that one of the students had been struck dead by lightning in the school compound. Unpredictable breaks of scheduled classes occurred, students were ordered to devote an afternoon to cleaning the school, or the teacher suddenly dismissed the class for reasons that we were unable to perceive. In short, we had virtually no control over the school situation. It was indeed a naturalistic research situation.

We have outlined some of the practical complications which we were faced with as researchers in an unfamiliar culture. One of the lessons to be drawn from our experience is that provision should be made for extra resources of time. It may be necessary, for instance, to set aside time for acculturation to a new milieu. It is also of vital importance to be flexible, since the researcher is often confronted with situations in the field, where it is impossible to resort to strategies, which are applied in his own country.

The alien researcher should be prepared to avoid solutions which are based on the value system predominant in his own culture. He has learnt to look for certain truths which he might continue to pursue in the new setting. There is an obvious risk that he fails to discover the indigenous patterns if he is not aware of this problem.

D. METHOD

Selection of research areas

YDLC was spread out over almost the whole nation. It operated in 12 of Ethiopia's regions. Most schools were situated in remote rural areas, where they were inaccessible by road. During the rainy season many roads became impassable. When this study was still at a preparatory stage, it became obvious that a strict random sampling of schools was not feasible. The evaluation team reached this conclusion after having travelled extensively in different parts of the country, visiting a number of Campaign schools. Several consultations were held with Campaign workers both at central and local levels. It was finally decided that a number of areas in various parts of the country should be selected for study. Within each of these areas two schools were to be chosen. A number of students from each school was finally picked out.

The choice of investigation areas was based on certain general criteria.

1. Since a major part of the Campaign activities took place in a rural setting, the study needed to be carried out in such areas of the country.

2. It was desirable to spread the study geographically.

3. The selected areas were to reflect ethnic heterogenity.

4. Most of the Campaign participants did not speak Amharic as their first language. The study was therefore to be carried out in an environment of linguistic diversity.

Four different areas were eventually selected by judgement. The location of areas is given in figure 3.1.

Selection of schools

Two schools were chosen in each of the four research areas. As already mentioned the random sampling procedure that was originally planned had to be abandoned for practical reasons. Instead, a selection on judgement basis was undertaken. A set of sampling criteria was applied.

1. One of the two schools in a given area was to be a school in its second year of operation (a newly) started school). School number two was to have been functioning for at least four years (an old school).

2. The sample schools were to be situated in a rural locality at a distance from towns and mainroads. On the other hand, for practical reasons the time required to travel to the schools was not to exceed three days, starting from the base in Addis Ababa. An obvious deviation from this principle occurred in the case of two schools chosen in the vicinity of Addis Ababa.

3. The sample schools should be typical literacy schools in terms of equipment and personnel. Schools in the process of including grades 5-6 and thus reaching the level of government primary schools, were not eligible for inclusion in the study. Such schools usually had better equipment and more qualified personnel than the majority of the campaign schools.

4. In order to meet requirements of volume and to reduce the effects of sample attrition each school was to have at least 50 students or alternatively there was to be no less than 100 students together for the two schools in any given area.

The sample schools are described in detail in the previous section about Frames.

As already mentioned the evaluative study consisted of three substudies, which were conducted within the areas and schools selected according to the above criteria. In the literacy achievement study all subjects were literacy students from the eight schools. The observation study was conducted within YDLC schools, with the already selected eight schools as a basis. A few other YDLC schools were added to this sample for practical purposes. The reader is referred to Chapter 5 for a more detailed description of the observation sample.

Eighty-three of the sample students who had taken part in the testing in 1975, were selected for interviewing together with 66 adults living in the school villages. This selection process is decribed in Chapter 6.

The 466 literacy students selected at our first round of visits to the schools in 1975 are regarded as the main sample, since a major portion of the field data emanates from this group. These individuals are involved in all three studies, although not all of them participate in the observation study and the interview study.

The main sample is presented in the following pages.

Sample

In tables 3.2 - 3.5 the sample is described according to the variables of sex, age, language and religion. The sample comprises a total of 466 individuals, all of whom were students in the eight research schools.

In schools containing relatively few students everyone present on the first day of our first field visit was included in the sample. In two larger schools an appropriate number of students was picked out in a way which approximated a random sampling.

Sex

Table 3.2. Percentage Distribution of Sample on Area and School by Sex.

Area	School	Male % N=362	Female % N=104	Total % N=466	Total No
Gidole	1.1	100	-	100	(28)
	1.2	98	2	100	(62)
Nejo	2.1	82	18	100	(74)
	2.2	83	17	100	(63)
Addis	3.1	59	41	100	(91)
	3.2	55	45	100	(69)
Dessie	4.1	84	16	100	(55)
	4.2	92	8	100	(24)

Sex distribution in the sample is by and large the same as in the whole campaign. The proportion of female students is 22%. The lowest female recruitment in the sample is registered for the Gidole area, with only one girl among the 90 students. Female enrolment is also remarkably weak in the Dessie area. Official YDLC statistics give the female proportion for the whole Campaign as 23%.

Age

It is notoriously difficult to obtain valid assessments of age in environments of the type represented in this study. The data shown in Table 3.3 are based on responses from participants, who were asked straightforwardly about their age. The resulting information should be interpreted with due caution.

Table 3.3. Distribution of Sample on Age.

Age	no	%
5 - 6	16	3
7 - 8	95	21
9 -11	168	36
12-14	135	29
15-24 (adults)	39	8
Not stated	13	3
Total	466	100

Mean 10.7
Median 10.3

In YDLC statistics for 1975 the total enrolment was 153 410, out of which 18% were reported as adults.

Language

Only about one third of the sample students speak Amharic as their mother tongue. These students are recruited from the Dessie and Addis areas. Amharic is the official language in Ethiopia but is only spoken by about one third of the population. Ullendorff (1973) estimates the number of Amharic speakers at around 8 to 10 million. Oromo is the language of a major ethnic group bearing the same name and representing roughly one third of the total population (Edgren, 1971). Gidoligna and Gatigna are dialects spoken in the Gidole area of Gemu Gofa.

Table 3.4. Distribution of Sample on First Language.

Language	No	%
Amharic	157	34
Oromo	188	40
Gidoligna	57	12
Gatigna	28	6
Other	19	4
Not stated	17	4
Total	466	100

The target language in YDLC schools was Amharic which means that a majority of the students had to learn to read in a language that was foreign to them.

Religion

Religion and language reflect ethnic plurality in the Ethiopian society and have therefore been introduced as sample descriptors. It is also of interest to see to what extent the Campaign recruited participants from outside the Evangelical denomination.

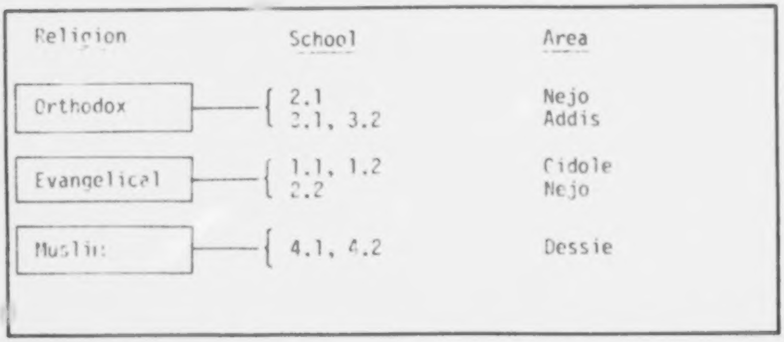
Figures about the distribution of religions in Ethiopia vary. A reasonable approximation is probably that 45-50% of the population are Orthodox Christians, the same proportion Muslims and about 10% followers of traditional beliefs. (Compare for instance Annuaire de l'Afrique, 1979, and Missionsorientering, 1972). According to our own appraisal the proportion of Evangelical Christians at the tine of this study was somewhere around one per cent.

Table 3.5. Distribution of Sample on Religion.

Religion	No	%
Eth. Orthodox Christians	200	43
Evangelical Christians	167	36
Muslims	77	17
Other	1	-
Not stated	21	4
Total	466	100

"Evangelical" in this sample is synonymous with the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, ECMY, with a total membership of about 300 000 in 1976. In spite of the fact that YDLC operates within the framework of ECMY, the majority of the sample students have either Orthodox or Muslim backgrounds. This could be regarded as an indication that campaign schools have an open, non-sectarian approach. Such a state of affairs would conceivably facilitate the transfer of YDLC schools to Peasant Associations.

The following diagram indicates the predominant creeds in the sample schools.



Religion	School	Area
Orthodox	2.1 3.1, 3.2	Nejo Addis
Evangelical	1.1, 1.2 2.2	Gidole Nejo
Muslim	4.1, 4.2	Dessie

Figure 3.6. Predominant religion in sample schools.

As accounted for in chapters 5 and 6, Classroom Observation and Interview samples differ somewhat from the sample as presented above.

Movements within the sample

For a number of participants changes occurred in their life situations during 1975, which caused them to leave the literacy schools. In most instances, however, it was possible to obtain information about the nature of these changes. In Table 3.6 such movements within the sample are accounted for.

Table 3.6. Movements within the sample during 1975.

Sample			466
Remaining in school 1976		292	
Reasons for leaving school:			
Moved to other school	55		
Did not pay school fees	7		
Moved from the village	5		
Died	2		
Married	2		
Started working	21		
Other reasons 1)	28		
No information available	54	174	
Total		466	466

1) This category included 25 students from school 3.1, which closed down in 1975.

Instruments

A set of instruments was prepared for the purpose of the field work. All instruments used in this study were developed by the evaluation team. A more detailed decription appears in Chapters 4-6, where the separate studies are accounted for. In Appendix J are listed all instruments constructed and used during the field phase.

Literacy test

The literacy test was divided into two parts, one for reading and the other for arithmetic. The reading part consisted of three sections. These were designed to cover a wide range of achievement from simple letter recognition to deciphering an excerpt from a national newspaper. The arithmetic part featured items on the four operations as well as material of a conceptual character.

Data forms

Three forms for registration of information about participants, teachers and schools were prepared. These instruments were designed to accomodate mostly quantitative data on demographic, educational and environmental variables at individual and unit levels (Appendix A, B, C).

Interview schedules

Interview schedules were developed for the purpose of soliciting information on facts, experiences and attitudes pertaining to the local school and to education as a concept.

Three different schedules were constructed and combined with the data forms mentioned above. They were designed for the following groups of respondents: People in the Milieu; Participants of the Campaign; and Former Participants, Drop-Outs and Non-participants (Appendix D, E, F). A fourth schedule was used to gather background information on schools (Appendix G).

Classroom Observation schedule

The Classroom Observation schedule consisted of an observation sheet, guidelines for using the sheet, a form for registration of background data, and a code key (Appendix H).

Procedure

Field visits

A set of field visits to the eight schools selected for the study was carried out. Four trips were made to each of these schools, and a fifth journey was undertaken to three of them. The team logged around 15 000 kms on these excursions travelling by car, bus, cross-country vehicles and riding on mule-back. Sometimes we journeyed to a school from a base in the area to return in the evenings. On other occasions we struck camp at the school and remained there till we had finished our business. These journeys were quite ardous but necessarily so, since we had elected to operate in schools situated off the beaten track.

Field visit 1

During the first round of trips we selected participants for the sample. These students were then given the literacy test mentioned above. The test session was scheduled to be repeated after one year, using identical instruments.

The simple conditions of the literacy schools created certain problems in the testing situation. Inadequate lighting and space in school buildings occasionally forced us to test students in the open air, where they placed themselves underneath the protective branches of a large tree. The absence of desks required students to work with the test booklets in their laps. Oral instructions were very time-consuming in the instances when they had to be translated into vernacular.

The test was invariably administered by the Ethiopian team members. They were sometimes aided by an interpreter, who rendered the oral information into the local language. Detailed guidelines for the test had been prepared in Amharic and Oromo and instruction was always conveyed orally to the testees in their own language.

At this first visit we also gathered background data on the individual teachers and the schools, using Data Form Teachers and Data Form Schools (Appendix B, C). Data on the history of the school was collected through an interview schedule called The School and its Milieu (Appendix G).

Field visit 2

Field visit 2 was devoted to the collection of data on a number of background variables regarding campaign participants. We addressed ourselves to the same individuals as at the initial visit. They were interviewed by the team, who used Data Form Participants for this purpose. This form is, among other things, concerned with family situation, sex, age, time spent at school, distance to school, religion and language (Appendix A).

Field visit 3

The programme for this tour comprised three components: interviews, classroom observations and acquisition of health data.

A number of the older sample students were interviewed on issues pertaining to rural education. We also interviewed adult village inhabitants on similar issues (Appendix D, E, F).

Classroom observations utilizing the formalized instruments were combined with open-ended descriptions in the form of lesson reports (Appendix H).

Health data were collected on nutrition (weight, height, mid-upper-arm circumference), eyesight and hearing. These activities were carried through in collaboration with The Ethiopian Nutrition Institute, ENI, in Addis Ababa. ENI provided basic training in the assessment of health data, gave us access to their field equipment and assisted in data treatment. Nutritional data were gathered on all sample students, who were available. Data collection on eyesight and hearing was restricted to older students in the sample, usually from grades 3 and 4, since it was difficult for the youngest students to respond correctly to the instructions (See Appendix K, tables 2-4).

A rationale for gathering health data was to explore potential relations between certain health aspects and school achievement.

Field visit 4

Field visit 4 was mainly concerned with retesting students with the literacy test given about 12 month earlier. At this occasion we also continued the interviewing programme and carried out further classroom observations.

Field visit 5

Three schools - 2.1, 2.2 and 3.2 - were visited on a fifth occasion. We then interviewed students whose performance at the second testing session either represented a substantial gain or, on the contrary, a stagnation, or even loss of abilities as compared to the initial test results. Questions that were put to the students centered among other things on the possession of school-books, attendance, and attitudes to school-work.

PART THREE

Chapter 4

ACHIEVEMENT IN LITERACY

A. LITERACY AS DEFINED BY YDLC

In presenting literacy achievement over a period of time it would seem logical to choose as our point of departure a universally accepted definition of literacy. But as we have shown in Chapter 1 there is no such widely accepted consensus about what is meant by literacy.

Given the nature of the evaluation assignment we have chosen to utilize the definition of literacy, which was adopted by YDLC. This definition has been inferred from goal documents and from interviews with the Campaign management. A critical analysis of YDLC motives and goals is carried out in Chapter 7.

With respect to the discussion of literacy in Chapter 1, the YDLC-version given below has a distinctively functional character. The emphasis on skills in arithmetic should be noticed in this context. A characteristic trait of the YDLC-definition is its concern with religious content. Literacy as a medium for critical consciousness of the surrounding society is not visible in this definition. See however the goal analysis in Chapter 7.

YDLC's definition of literacy:

- ability to read and understand the four Campaign readers
- ability to read and understand follow-up literature with work-oriented subject matter,
- ability to read and understand the Bible,
- ability to read and understand newspaper texts,
- ability to read and understand public notices.
- ability to write one's own name and simple communications

- knowledge of the numerals
- knowledge of the four arithmetical operations
- ability to apply the four operations to simple problems.

In essence, this definition requires a literate person to be able to read, write and calculate. It should be noted in this context that official Ethiopian statistics have defined a literate person as an individual who possesses the skills necessary to read and write a simple sentence (Statistical Central Office, 1974 a). These requirements are obviously less exacting than those of YDLC. Both the construction of instruments and the subsequent analyses of the test results have been guided by YDLC's definition of literacy.

Thus three kinds of literacy skills appear, namely to read, to write and to calculate. With regard to reading, two elements are suggested; to decipher the text (to "read") and to understand or to comprehend. Reading comprehension in its turn also shows a stepwise progression from mastering the campaign reader to coping with newspaper articles. A hierarchy of ability levels is also discernible in writing and in arithmetic.

In reporting the test results two sets of criteria are being employed, one relating to literacy as a global ability and the other to component skills of literacy. These criteria are expressed in terms of test scores. Let us first consider the score for literacy as a global ability. The cutting line for a literate person is set at 117 points out of a maximum score of 229. This demarcation is derived from the relative weight of the various test items and sections. Determination of the relative weights was done on a judgement basis, considering the various test elements.

The literacy test could best be described as criterion oriented, since results of individuals are compared with a given criterion rather than with the results from a statistically defined norm group. It should be noted, however, that the test is not a criterion referenced instrument in a strict sense, since there is no simple dichotomy between those who pass and those who fail. Instead we have chosen to work with triple categories: illiterate, partially literate and literate.

A complication with this type of tests is how to determine critical scores or cutting lines. There is no general solution to this problem. Some kind of expert judgement is usually involved in the process. Experts might consider content and difficulty of the items, the actual results, and their perception of what is an acceptable performance (Wedman 1973).

In the present study the judgement procedure is based on our own analysis of goals and our interpretation of what should be regarded as a reasonable degree of goal achievement, as well as our knowledge of the level of difficulty for the single items.

The weighting procedure is accounted for in Figure 4.1.

Instruments	Max scores	Critical scores	Mean first testing (1975)	Mean second testing (1976)	Literacy criterion scores	
SECTION 1						
Breaking the code						
Letter	6	4	3,7	4,8		
Word	6	4	3,6	4,8		
Oral	25	12	12,1	14,0		
Vocabulary	10	9	6,5	8,0		
	47	29			29	
Writing, elementary						
Signature	3	3	2,1	2,5		
Copying	10	7	6,4	7,0		
Dictation	20	10	7,4	9,2		
	33	20			20	
SECTION 2						
Reading comprehension						
Sentences	12	8	6,0	8,3		
True/false	31	21	13,3	17,2		
	43	29			29	
SECTION 3						
Reading comprehension, advanced						
All items	63	20	8,6	14,5	20	
Total reading test					98	98
ARITHMETIC						
Concepts	19	8	10,5	12,8		
Computation	16	6	6,0	7,6		
Application	8	5	3,5	4,2		
Total arithmetic test	43	19				19
TOTAL READING AND ARITHMETIC TEST (the complete test battery)			90,2	118,9		117

Figure 4.1. Table of test scores analysed for the purpose of establishing final literacy criteria.

A subdivision has been made between illiterate and what is here referred to as partially literate. Partially literate denotes an intermediate stage, characterizing students who master reading fundamentals, i.e. have broken the code, and are in the process of becoming literate. Breaking the code signifies the ability to translate written symbols into spoken language.

Component skills in this context are defined as the multiple abilities which together constitute global literacy competence. They are also related to YDLC's definition of literacy as expressed on p. 93. Such component skills are:

Component skills	Instruments
Breaking the code Copying, writing one's signature, writing words after dictations, i.e. elementary writing	Test Section 1
Reading with comprehension, simple texts	Test Section 2
Reading with comprehension, more advanced texts	Test Section 3
Arithmetic	Arithmetic Test

Levels of literacy, based on criterion scores from the complete literacy test battery, were defined in the following way:

Illiterate	criterion scores	0- 24
Partially literate	criterion scores	25-116
Literate	criterion scores	117-229

Purpose

As can be recalled from p. 47 the relationship between goals and outcomes was the main theme of the evaluative study. The specific purpose for the literacy achievement study was:

- to assess pedagogic effectiveness in terms of student achievement over time

- to relate achievement to frame factors.

B. METOD

Sample, Instruments and Procedure

The sample is described in Chapter 3. pp. 83-88.

Instruments

Since there was no suitable instrument available it was necessary to develop a set of literacy tests for this study.

The construction of instruments was preceded by a review of literature on reading tests, with special reference to literacy. See for instance Cañizares (1957); Leake Abbay et al. (1973); Leake Abbaye (1972); Madden et al. (1972); Oller Jr et al. (1972); Tinker (1968).

The literacy test is divided into two parts, one for reading and the other for arithmetic. The reading part consists of three sections. These are designed to cover a wide range of achievement from simple letter recognition to deciphering an excerpt from a national newspaper. The arithmetic part features items on the four operations as well as material of a conceptual character. The literacy test was administered as a power test.

Test items were drafted in Amharic when the team had discussed structure and content. Translations into English were prepared at a later stage for reference purposes.

Construction of items was based on analyses of campaign goals. Goal content was broken down into testable units of behaviour (Gronlund, 1968; Jivén, 1973; Levin & Marton, 1971; Wedman, 1973).

Treatment of the tryout data comprised scoring, tabulation, and item analysis of multiple-choice items (Henrysson, 1971). The reason for this procedure was to establish whether the items differentiated between levels of performance. Due to the complicated and primitive field conditions it was not possible to carry out extensive statistical analyses.

Section 3 of the reading test is modelled on the cloze technique (Bormuth, 1967; Oller, 1973). A considerable portion of the test material consists of multiple-choice and true-false items.

The test was developed in close cooperation with two nationals working fulltime as research counterparts. Available local experts were occasionally consulted. The construction process can be summarized in a stepwise account:

- identifying campaign goals
- compiling and analyzing relevant literature and documentation including specimens of existing tests
- setting up a test plan with test variables and test content
- drafting a pool of test items
- organizing test items into subtests
- trying out Test version 1
- revising Test version 1 after item analysis
- producing Test version 2
- trying out Test version 2 (the Arithmetic section was tried out only once)
- revising Test version 2 after item analysis
- producing the Final test version.

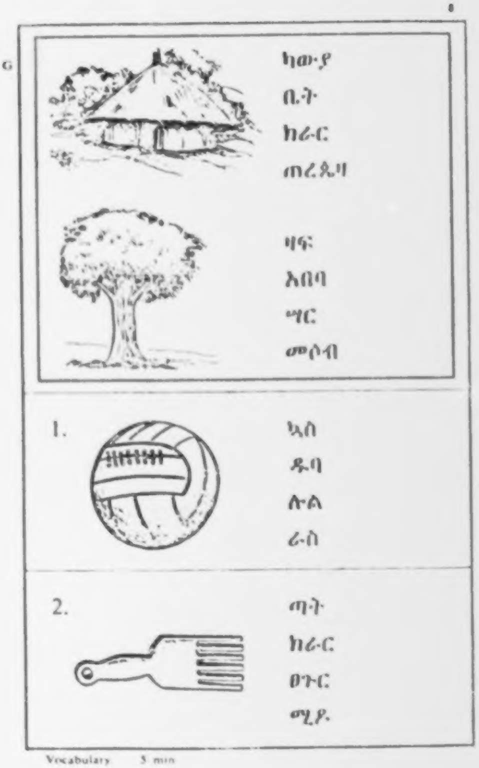


Figure 4.2 Part of the subtest "Vocabulary" from Section 1 of the Reading test. The first two items are intended for instruction. (Reduced, actual size 16,5 x 27 cm).

Reliability as a test quality is usually defined as the ability to resist chance variations. It reflects consistency of results at repeated applications of a certain test.

We have applied KR 21 (Guilford & Fruchter, 1973) using mean and variance of the test to estimate reliability. The resulting coefficient was 0,986. This remarkably high value should be interpreted with due caution. Since the score distribution has a tendency towards bimodality, the value should be looked upon as a rough estimate only. On the other hand the large number of test items (252) might partly explain the high reliability figure. Even if certain sources of error might have influenced the reliability value it indicates that the test has a satisfactory reliability level for group comparisons. In the present study no attempt is made to differentiate between individuals.

Another point to consider is the fact that assessment of results from the subtests Oral Reading, Dictation and Copying obviously is open to subjective interpretation. A strategy applied to study reliability in such situations is to assess the agreement between two independent and simultaneous observers. See among other Stukåt, 1970, and Lundgren, 1972. In our case the two research workers involved in the scoring were asked to judge the outcome of a certain number of these subtests independently of each other. They agreed in 90% of the cases, which we regard as a satisfactory value.

Written guidelines in Amharic and Oromo for test administration were prepared with a view to improve reliability in the testing situation. Cral instructions were invariably communicated in the testee's own language. Guidelines and norms for test scoring were also prepared, the purpose being to enhance uniformity.

Validity asks the question whether a test actually measures what it sets out to measure. Therefore only such items as corresponded to the contents of the textbook were admitted into the test. In order to assess that the test measured literacy ability at different levels the test battery was given to 27 grade 8 students. These students could be expected to be proficient in Amharic reading and writing as well as in arithmetic. They achieved an average of 91,6% of the maximum score. This outcome should be compared to the average performance for sample students, which amounted to 39,4% at the first testing 1975 and 51,9% at the second testing 1976.

The reading test items are to a large extent based on campaign reading material written by Jalatta Jaffero (1961).

Procedure

All students, irrespective of grade, were exposed to one and the same test battery. This policy was adopted since it was not practicable to maintain clearcut distinctions between grades. Thus, in certain schools even advanced students had to stay in grade 1, since no other grade was organized. It was not uncommon for students in a certain grade to have spent widely differing lenghts of time at school. Some students went to school only for half-days. It was possible to find beginners in classes that were labelled 0 or 1. In one of the sample schools students in grade 1b were in their second year of schooling, while their fellow-students in 1a were beginners.

C. RESULTS

TEST RESULTS 1975

All sample students were tested during the first field visit. Out of a total of 466 a few did not complete the whole test. These students have been excluded in all tables presenting results and levels of literacy. The total number of students who took the whole testing battery is 452.

Results related to frame factors and individual characteristics

In this section reading achievement for the 452 individuals, who took the whole test battery, expressed in terms of literacy level, is correlated with frame factors such as time at school, religion and language. Test results are also related to the individual characteristics of sex, age and number of literate family members.

A word of caution is required in connection with the interpretation of relationships between test results and other variables. Relations between the variables are highly complex and do not permit simple conclusions about causality.

Time at school

Table 4.1. Level of Literacy at First Testing by Time at Literacy School up to First Visit of the Team.

Time at literacy school	Level of literacy Illiterate No	 Partially literate No	 Literate No	 Total No
1 month	3	2	2	7
2- 3 months	16	10	3	29
4- 8 months	48	114	63	225
9-11 months	2	2	0	4
12-16 months	4	31	44	79
17-19 months	0	1	0	1
20-24 months	1	8	32	41
15-60 months	0	17	35	52
Not stated	4	7	3	14
Total	78	192	182	452

About one third of the literate students had spent 8 months (one school year) or less at school. Two thirds of the literates had not gone to school more than 16 months (two school years). There are, however, great variations between schools in how long it takes to become literate.

A review of the time it takes to become literate in different sample schools is given below.

72% of the literate students in the two Addis schools, 3.1 and 3.2, have gone 8 months or less to the school. But 45% of this group of literates state that they have previously attended other schools.

In schools 4.1 and 4.2 (Dessie area) no student who has spent less than 20 months at school passes the criterion of literate. Apparently it takes longer to become literate in Dessie than in Addis in spite of the fact that all Dessie students are Amharic-speaking. It is worth noting that the two Dessie schools and school 3.1 in Addis have classes only in the morning.

In school 2.2, Nejo area, most of the literate students had spent 12-16 months at school. A few were literate after 4-8 months. In this area it was rather uncommon that students had previously attended other schools. By and large, school 2.2 has the best result with 61% of its students fulfilling the criterion of literate, compared with 52% for the two Addis schools.

In school 2.1, Nejo area, students took 20-24 months to become literate. 15% of the students had attended other schools.

In Gidole area, where we find schools 1.1 and 1.2, most of the literate students had spent more than 25 months at school. Students had not attended other schools.

Table 4.2. Area and School by Time at Other School.

Area	School	Time at other school 4-8 months No	 9-16 months No	 Total No
Gidole	1.1	0	0	0
	1.2	1	0	1
Nejo	2.1	10	3	13
	2.2	16	2	18
Addis	3.1	42	14	56
	3.2	17	24	41
Dessie	4.1	4	0	4
	4.2	0	0	0
Total		90	43	133

Ninety individuals out of the total sample of 466 have spent 4-8 months in other schools before joining the literacy school. Forty-three individuals have spent more than 8 months in other schools. The majority of these students are found in the Addis schools, where about 75% of all sample students have stated that they have attended other schools.

Literate members of the household

Two thirds of the sample students claim that there is at least one literate member in their household. Compared to the general level of literacy in the environment (see for instance p. 57, 62 and 69 in Chapter 3) data indicate that households with literate members are strongly overrepresented in the sample schools. The number of literate members of households might be overestimated by the students. It was not possible for us to check their statements.

There is no apparent connection between test results and literacy in the household. It could be assumed that once the students have started learning it is of marginal importance whether they come from a literate background or not. The virtually total absence of reading materials besides schoolbooks in the villages is probably equally shared by literate and non-literate households.

Age

Table 4.3. Level of Literacy at First Testing by Stated Age.

Age	Level of literacy			
	Illiterate	Partially literate	Literate	Total
	No	No	No	No
5- 6 years	7	7	1	15
7- 8 years	38	36	20	94
9-11 years	22	86	56	164
12-14 years	5	44	78	127
15-24 years	2	13	24	39
Not stated	4	6	3	13
Total	78	192	182	452

Table 4.3 indicates that literacy attainment is linked with age. The older students produce better results than the younger ones. Controlling for time spent at school it appears that Table 4.3 actually mirrors the effect of the length of schooling upon literacy achievement.

Sex

As can be seen in the interview study reported in Chapter 6, a commonly expressed notion in research villages is that girls have not sufficient mental capacity for studies. Such a prejudice might adversely affect the self-confidence of the girls. It might also induce negative expectations about girls' performance on the part of the teachers.

Data suggest that female students perform somewhat better than male students. 44% of the girls fulfil the criterion for the designation literate, while the corresponding proportion of boys is 39%. However, controlling for age and time at school, literate girls are found to be older and have attended school longer than boys in the same category. It also seems that it is more common for girls to have gone to other schools than it is for boys.

Religion

The largest proportion of illiterates in our sample, 45%, is found among the Muslims. However, 77% of the Muslims in the sample lived in Dessie area. As can be seen in the description of schools in pp. 70-74, conditions were not favourable for learning. The scantiness of resources was more pronounced here than in other sample schools. Moreover, the more advanced students tended to leave the literacy schools for schools in the neighbourhood with better facilities.

The comparatively large proportion of literates among the Orthodox students, 51%, might be explained by the fact that two thirds of them were found in the two Addis schools. In this area almost 75% of the sample students had attended other schools before entering the literacy school. Most of them had attended Orthodox Church Schools.

Language

As can be seen in Table 4.4 55% of the Oromo-speaking students fulfil the literacy criterion, whereas only 32% of the Amharic-speaking students are literate. Judging from data the Oromo- or Gidoligna-speaking students were not seriously handicapped compared to the Amharic-speaking. This finding is somewhat surprising.

Table 4.4. Level of Literacy at First Testing by First Language. Percentage Distribution.

Language	Level of literacy				
	Illiterate N=78	Partially literate N=192	Literate N=182	Total N=452	Total No
Amharic	28	40	32	100	(154)
Oromo	6	39	55	100	(180)
Gidoligna	13	53	34	100	(55)
Gatigna	37	56	7	100	(27)
Other	16	47	37	100	(19)
Not stated	29	41	30	100	(17)
Total	17	43	40	100	(452)

Unesco and other institutions dealing with global literacy usually maintain that initial literacy should be imparted through the learner's mother toungue. It deserves to be mentioned that pedagogic efficiency is only one of several issues involved in this field of problems (Literacy Work, 1974; Unesco, 1953).

Conclusive research data on the role of instructional language for pedagogic outcomes in terms of literacy skills seem, however, to be lacking (Bamgboṣe, 1976).

It is hard to generalize from available research findings, since studies like for instance Lambert & Tucker (1978) and Österberg (1961) represent widely differing situations. Henrysson & Johansson (1981) discuss the role of situational factors in multilingual contexts.

Our data indicate that learning to read in a foreign language does not constitute the most serious hindrance for student achievement. In the present context other factors seem to play a more important role. These will be further discussed on pp. 109-112.

Mean scores at school level

Results from the first testing in 1975 are expressed in mean scores for schools in table 4.5. Outcomes for the eight sample schools are listed in ranking order.

Table 4.5. Mean Scores for the Complete Test Battery by School.

Rank	School	Area	Mean
1	2.2	Nejo	120.3
2	3.1	Addis	111.6
3	2.1	Nejo	102.1
4	3.2	Addis	98.1
5	1.2	Gidole	91.4
6	1.1	Gidole	48.4
7	4.2	Dessie	43.0
8	4.1	Dessie	35.0
Mean score for the whole sample			90.2

Students from school 2.2 in Nejo area are performing better than students from other schools on the complete test battery. The same school also tops the ranking list when we look at the arithmetic and reading sections separately. In every instance students from the same five schools, viz. 2.2, 3.1, 3.2, 2.1 and 1.2, perform above or close to the sample mean scores.

In the following pages we are going to describe and discuss the characteristic features of the high-achieving school 2.2 in Nejo and the lowest achieving schools, viz. 1.1 (Gidole) and 4.1 and 4.2 (Dessie) with the intention of suggesting possible relations between such characteristics and achievement.

Local administration

School 2.2 started operating in 1973 under a local school committee. Since 1976 it has been run by the local Peasant Association. The PA meeting dealing with school finances described on p. 65 in Chapter 3 might be taken as an indication of the involvement of the village dwellers in their schools.

The administrative apparatus is roughly the same in schools 1.1, 4.1 and 4.2, though none of them had a functioning school committee at the time of the first testing in 1975. All three schools were started in 1971.

Physical frames

Compared with schools 1.1, 4.1 and 4.2, school 2.2 had a more spacious building. School 4.1 had only one room where to house the 88 students, while the building in 4.2 was of very poor quality, and finally deteriorated to such an extent that it became unfit for its purpose. None of the schools had any equipment besides blackboards.

Ecological frames

Literacy rate is comparatively high in the immediate vicinity as well as in the surrounding area of school 2.2.

- Nejo Worreda	7%	(Statistical Central Office, 1974 a)
- Ghimbi Awraja	8.8%	(Sanna, 1975)
- Wollega	9%	(Sanna, 1975)
- Ethiopia	4.7%	(Statistical Central Office, 1974 a)

The literacy rate in the provinces of school 1.1, 4.1 and 4.2 is among the lowest in Ethiopia, 2.8% and 2.9% respectively (Statistical Central Office, 1974 b and c).

Our data indicate that students from 2.2 together with those in one of the Dessie schools live relatively far away from their schools. For the students from school 2.2 the long distance to school does not seem to have had obvious adverse effects on school achievement.

The locations of the four schools differ somewhat. Schools 4.1 and 4.2 in Dessie area were isolated to a large degree, since no road except mule tracks led to the villages. The literacy teachers in 1.1, 4.1 and 4.2 were left without the stimulance of a teacher colleague in the village. The low literacy rates in Gidole and Dessie areas imply that few other literate adults were living in the vicinity. Our data indicate that attitudes of the village population to the literacy school were less positive in Dessie area than in Nejo, where school 2.2 was situated.

Instructional language at all campaign schools was Amharic. All of the students in school 2.2 spoke Oromo as first language. Knowledge of Amharic - barring what was learnt at school - probably ranged from minimal to none. In schools 4.1 and 4.2 all students spoke Amharic as their first language, which would be to the advantage of the students. In school 1.1 in Gidole area the local language was Gatigna.

The majority of students in 1.1 and 2.2 were Evangelical Christians. In 4.1 and 4.2 Islam was the dominating religion.

Pedagogic frames

The qualifications of teachers in the four schools, expressed in terms of formal schooling and experience were about the same as the average for the research schools, except for the teacher in school 4.2, who had only got four years of schooling.

One of the teachers in 2.2 had received two months of inspector's training course, and the teacher in 1.1 had undergone two weeks of the same training.

In school 2.2 the teacher to student ratio was well below the mean for the eight sample schools, 1/29 compared to 1/50. The teacher in schools 4.1 had to instruct 88 students singlehandedly while the number of students in 1.1 and 4.2 was comparatively low, 28 and 34. An important feature may be that in the three low achieving schools the teacher had no colleague but had to cope with all instruction alone. The same instructional media, the YDLC Readers, were used in all schools.

Economic frames

Teachers' pay was comparatively high in school 2.2, which must be seen, however, in relation to the general level of costs of living in the area. Irregular payment of salaries seems to have occurred in all research areas.

Students in schools 2.2 and 1.1 were expected to pay school fees. Occasionally students left school because they could not afford to pay the fees. No fees were charged students in 4.1 and 4.2, since the teachers' salaries were covered by the LWF grant of 175 Birr per year.

Dessie area, where the most low-achieving schools were found, was also the poorest of the research areas. People in the villages declared that there were many more pressing concerns than schooling, although they did consider it important for children to have education.

Individual characteristics

Very few girls were enrolled in 1.1 and 4.2. In schools 4.1 and 2.2 16% and 17% respectively were female students. This is only slightly below the sample mean of 22% for girl students.

As many as 64% of the students in 2.2 are in the age group 12-14 years compared to 28% for the entire sample. The mean age for all 466 students is 10,7. The 2.2 student is evidently older than the average sample participant, although he has not spent more time at school. The reason for the more advanced age of 2.2 students is probably found in the fact that most of them had long distances to walk in order to reach the school. Parents did not want to send the young children alone under such conditions.

Characteristic features of the high-achieving school 2.2 can be summarized in the following way:

The school was situated in an area with a comparatively high literacy level. Student/teacher ratio was low compared with other sample schools. A positive attitude to the literacy school was noticeable among the village people. The school administration was working comparatively well. The school was served by a number of teachers, who formed a well functioning team. During the dry season it was possible to reach the school with a four-wheel vehicle.

It should be pointed out that the above summary of characteristics does not necessarily imply causal relationships between variables.

Achievement in component skills over time

Figure 4.3 presents achievement in component skills over time as measured at the testing session in 1975. Percentage distributions of students passing the criteria for each of the component skills were calculated and related to the time each student had spent at school. For total number of students in each category of time at school see Table 1 in Appendix K.

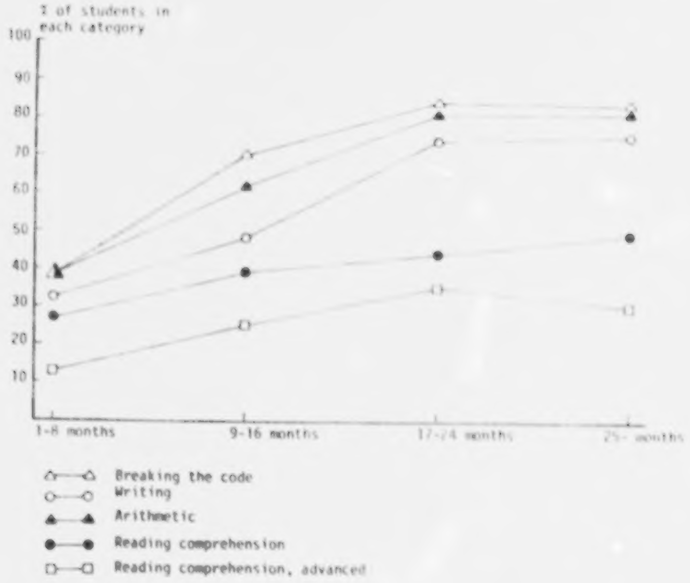


Figure 4.3. Achievement in component skills by time at school at the first testing.

The differences in position between the lines in figure 4.3 representing achievement in component skills are probably at least partly an effect of differences in item difficulty. But it could also indicate that skills are learned in a certain order. As could be expected, breaking the code is mastered prior to reading comprehension. It is also of interest to note that skills in arithmetic seem to be obtained early during the learning process. The findings imply that writing is introduced together with beginning reading training (=breaking the code). This assumption is supported by findings from the observation study reported in Chapter 5.

Figure 4.3 indicates that growth in achievement does occur. This growth differs between skills. During the first two school years (up to 16 months) breaking the code and arithmetic increase most. The ability of writing seems to grow considerably during the third school year (up to 24 months). Reading comprehension increases at an even pace during the whole of the period. A remarkable finding is that advanced reading comprehension tends to decrease after the third year. A tentative explanation to this phenomenon is that many proficient students leave the literacy school after two or three years for further studies at government schools. See for instance Table 4.6. Another conceivable explanation is that students who continue to their fourth school year actually suffer a loss in reading ability due to for instance the limited resources of the school.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

When the team set about to retest the students after about one year in February - March 1976 certain movements in the original sample had occurred. A number of students had left school for various reasons. In most cases we were able to get some indication about what had happened to students who had left school. Often the teachers could supply this information, in other instances the pupils were our source. Many of the missing students had moved to other schools in the neighbourhood; others had started working permanently in the fields. Quite a few had left simply because their school had ceased to operate.

Most of the missing students had spent more than one year at school at the time they left.

Table 4.6. Reason for Leaving School by Level of Literacy at First Testing.

Reason for Leaving school	Illiterate No	Partially Literate No	Literate No	Total No
Moved to other school	2	18	34	54
School fees	0	0	7	7
Moved out	2	1	2	5
Got married	1	1	0	2
Died	1	0	1	2
Started working	2	11	7	20
Other[1]	4	15	8	27
Not stated	9	22	20	51
Total[2]	21	68	79	168

1) Under the category "Other" are listed 25 students who had left because their school had ceased to operate.

2) 8 of the students who were not present at the retesting had not taken the complete test battery, wherefore it was not possible to know if they were literate or not.

The issue of drop-out is crucial to all literacy work. In the context of YDLC, where schooling is not formalized in a specified number of years, one could define a drop-out as a person who leaves school before he has learnt to read and write. Looking at table 4.6 it is obvious that about half of the students who left school in the interval between the first and second testing were in fact literate. 32% of those who left had moved to other schools, where they continued their studies.

37% of the students who had left school after the first testing had spent more than 1 year at school.

TEST RESULTS 1976

One of the main objectives of the evaluation study was to assess literacy achievement over a period of time. This was done in two ways:

a) relating test results to length of schooling as stated by students

b) relating test results in terms of gains from test session 1 in 1975 to test session 2 in 1976. For that purpose 194 of the sample students were retested in February-March 1976. Thirty-four students were absent from school during the whole testing session. Another 64 students took part in the testing, but did not take the whole test.

The instrument was identical with the one employed at the first testing. To develop a parallel but different test battery was impractical due to limited resources. It is also debatable whether a parallel test would have been more reliable and valid than an identical counterpart. The time lapse of one year between the two testing sessions is likely do decrease the risk for practise effects. A factor working in the same direction is probably the large number of items in the instrument.

Figure 4.4 shows changes in literacy status from test session 1 to test session 2. Obviously students have moved from one level of literacy to another. Thus for instance the number of illiterates was 35 at the first testing, but only 10 of these remained in this group at the second testing. Data suggest that individuals have moved to the categories of partially literate or literate. The illiterates have decreased and the literates increased in total numbers.

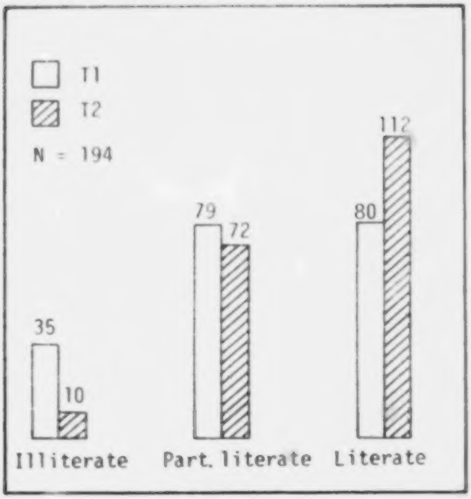


Figure 4.4. Changes in literacy status from first to second testing.

Retest results in gain scores

A word of caution is appropriate when gain scores are used as measurement of school achievement. Ceiling effects and statistical regression are factors that can influence the results. The implication of ceiling effects is that students with initially high scores have a reduced possibility for gain. A regression effect on retest scores means that initially high scores tend to drop towards the mean, whereas low scores gravitate upwards. See for instance Bloom, 1963.

Table 4.7. Gain scores on the Complete Test Battery (Section 1-3 and Arithmetic) by Level of Literacy at first testing. Percentage distribution.

Gain scores	Level of Literacy Illiterate N=35	Partially literate N=79	Literate N=80	Total % N=194	Total
51-112	15	85	0	100	(26)
36- 50	29	60	11	100	(35)
16- 35	15	36	48	100	(78)
-7- 15	16	15	69	100	(55)
Total	18	41	41	100	(194)

Mean gain for the 194 individuals was 28,0 with a standard deviation of 20,5 and a median of 24,3.

As can be seen in the above table the partially literate students gain most, while the majority of those who gain least are already literate.

Examining gain scores on the Reading test (Section 1-3) we find that the partially literate gain most also on this variable, representing 78% of the highest gain category. Only a small fraction of the high gainers are literate. The illiterates share of the gains is moderate compared to the partially literate, but superior to that of the literates.

That the literate students should have touched the ceiling of performance for the test is hardly probable, since their average performance was considerably below maximum scores.

All three literacy level categories gained substantially on the arithmetic section.

Table 4.8. Gain scores by time at school at the second testing.
Percentage distribution.

	Time at school at the second testing				
Gain scores	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	> 4 years	All students
51-112	20	10	-	-	13 (26)
36- 50	23	17	4	6	18 (34)
16- 35	37	40	50	53	41 (78)
-7- 15	20	33	46	11	28 (54)
	(109)	(42)	(24)	(17)	(192)

Table 4.8 indicates that students who are in their second or third school year have gained most, while students who have spent more than three years at school show comparatively low gains.

Relating gain scores on the complete test battery to age, sex, religion, language and number of literates in the househond, we find the same overall picture as at the first testing.

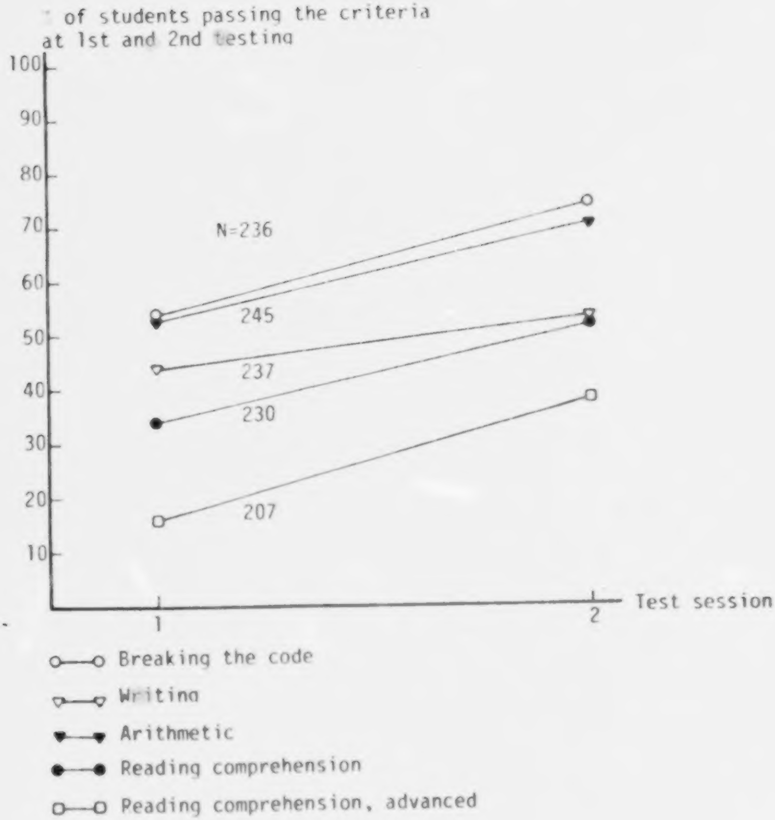


Figure 4.5. Achievement in component skills between test session 1 and test session 2.

Figure 4.5 shows results on component skills at the testing in 1975 and at the testing in 1976. There is an almost uniform rate of increment for the different skills. The findings suggest a hierarchy of achievements with breaking the code at the top and advanced reading comprehension occupying the lowest position.

Retest results in relation to schools

As the reader may recall, school 2.2 was the most successful at the first testing. Let us see if it also holds its own at the second test session.

Mean scores on different parts of the test battery were computed in order to find out whether or not school 2.2 could keep its position as the best achieving school of the sample. The data show the following results:

The complete test battery, where school 2.2 ranks as	1
Arithmetic test	1
Section 3 (Advanced reading comprehension)	1
Total Reading (Section 1-3)	3
Section 1	3
Section 2	3

School 2.2 is evidently still one of the highest achieving schools in the sample. In the instances where it does not reach top rank it is still clearly above the mean for the sample as a whole.

When relating mean scores for school 2.2 on the second testing to criteria for component skills and global literacy ability we found that 2.2 is well above all criteria. The same goes for schools 3.1 and 3.2 with the exception of Section 3, where they fall slightly below the dividing line. School 2.1 is a good fourth on the ranking list.

School 3.2 is the most outstanding as regards the variable of gain scores. The increment is spread out over the three reading sections and arithmetic, which points to gains in all abilities. We have already stated that generally the partially literate students gain most. 43% of the youngsters in 3.2 fell in this group at the first testing.

Discussing gain scores across schools it is well to keep a few facts in mind: School 1.1 and 3.1 ceased to operate at the end of June 1975. The sample students from these schools, who were retested 1976, had all joined government schools in the neighbourhood. It is probable that these schools had better teaching facilities than the literacy school. Students from 3.1 for instance joined a government school, which was apparently well equipped and staffed with qualified teachers. Even so these students did not perform better in terms of gain scores than those from the second Addis school, 3.2, and only slightly better than students from Nejo; schools 2.1 and 2.2. School 1.1 gained more than any other school on section 1, which measures the ability of breaking the code and writing. They did not gain much on advanced reading comprehension. It should be mentioned that the teacher who instructed 1.1 students at the time of the first testing did not speak the same vernacular as the students.

As can be seen in Table 4.5 schools 4.1 and 4.2 are at the bottom of the ranking list for the first testing. At the retesting few of the original sample students still remained at the literacy school, whereas the remainder had either dropped out, or their studies had stagnated. Many students seemed to have lost most of their reading ability during the year that had elapsed since our first test session. The students appeared to be restless and unaccustomed to taking instructions in the classroom. Many parents were evidently unwilling to send their children to school. Some of the older students had become full-time farmers and had joined the Peasant Association. People did not appear particularly keen to support the village school, and many other social needs were regarded as more urgent.

DISCUSSION

Important findings from the study of reading achievement can be summarized in the following manner:

- students become literate after about two years of studying at the literacy school
- starting to read in a foreign language is not necessarily a decisive handicap
- the teacher plays a key role for the functioning of the school
- in spite of the very limited input in terms of personnel and equipment schools produce results in terms of students achievements.

Measuring achievement over time it appears that students who had passed the literacy threshold at the initial testing have made relatively little progress.

A plausible explanation for the literate students' comparatively limited gains is that they may have got all the easy items correct at the first testing. In order to improve their scores they would have to perform equally well on the more difficult items, especially in Section 3, which measures advanced reading comprehension.

It is also possible that the more advanced students had exhausted the capacities of their school. Shortage of teaching materials and the limited qualifications of some teachers may have prevented students from going beyond a certain level. Although these students attended school and thus kept up their reading ability, they could not make any tangible progress until they moved to a school with better resources. This circumstance may have caused quite a large number of students to move to other schools (See Table 4.6). The literacy school might in many cases function as a feeder for other schools.

Another possible explanation for the difficulty of initial high-achievers to gain on the re-testing is suggested by Bloom (1963). According to this view instruction may be directed towards the middle of the ability range in the classroom, leaving more advanced students in the periphery of attention. Data from the classroom study do not contradict such an interpretation, since the instruction was of the frontal variety, with the teacher addressing the whole class at the same time.

The partially literate benefitted most from their schooling in terms of test scores. It is interesting to note that 47% of those students who left school during the period between the two testing sessions were literate and another 41% partially literate. The latter group had made considerable progress and it is regrettable that they should leave halfway towards the goal. Although many of them may have left for economic reasons it is possible that some of the students in this group could have been induced to stay on if they had been given more feedback and encouragement by their teachers. It is not realistic, however, to expect that teachers who have to instruct fifty or more students at a time should be able to devote much time to individual students.

According to our definition of a drop-out (see p. 115) about 20% of campaign students who left school during the period 1975-1976 should be labelled as drop-outs. This figure should be compared with official statistics from Government schools, which give a drop-out rate from grade 1 to grade 2 in 1967/68 as 29% (Desta, 1979).

Relapse into illiteracy is a common problem related to literacy work. A chief concern of any literacy campaign ought to be to provide follow-up materials for the neo-literates. In the early seventies YDLC was experimenting with portable lending libraries, but we are not aware of any serious assessment of the outcome. There have also been scattered attempts with mimeographed rural newspapers. The problem of reading stimuli is a very important one and should involve not only literacy operators but the community as a whole.

It is not surprising that the teacher emerges as a chief asset of the school. He need not have a sophisticated training, but should have gone to school for at least six years. Our experience from the schools lead us to the conclusion that a valuable characteristic of a successful literacy teacher is his attitude towards his work. We have also noticed that it is important for the teacher to have a good rapport with the people in the neighbourhood.

The typical YDLC school operated on a very limited budget. A pertinent question is whether the investment is sufficient to allow for any discernible effects at all. It seems commendable to spread restricted resources thinly, but if the results are meagre it is nonetheless a waste. As can be inferred from the preceding account of results, the schools we studied were able to operate efficiently in terms of students achievement in spite of frugal resources.

Deciding what should be regarded as an acceptable length of time to reach literacy is a delicate and difficult matter. A host of variables is involved; expected level of ability, learner and teacher characteristics, nature of language, availability and quality of teaching materials and so on. In discussions of this issue proposed time frames range from a couple of months to four years. YDLC in a tentative curriculum (YDLC, 1970) estimates the time needed to complete the campaign primer as two - three months, which to us appears as decidedly optimistic. In our judgement,to pass the literacy criterion of our test should require 12-20 months of studies. It should be noted, however, that the YDLC curriculum covers grades 1-4, although most literacy schools did not provide all four grades.

Language. Most participants in the YDLC schools learned to read in an unfamiliar language. It would seem preferrable to use the students' mother tongue as the initial reading language. Nevertheless our data indicate that Oromo-speakers learn as efficiently or even more so than Amharic-speakers do. The explanation seems to be found in the strong motivation Oromo-students expressed to learn Amharic, which they considered as instrumental for further studies and career development.

The grass-root school. The typical YDLC school was first and foremost a creation of the local community. The village people - often illiterates themselves - took the initiative and later assumed the responsibility to run the school through the local school committee. The YDLC experience demonstrates that literacy schools can be successfully operated at the grassroot level. Given the present situation in Ethiopia as well as in other developing countries this appears an interesting and encouraging proposition.

The high degree of local autonomy practised by the YDLC management right from the beginning of the Campaign, contrasts strongly with Government school policy during the same period. Government schools were strictly controlled by a central administration.

Chapter 5

READING TEACHING METHOD

The present chapter deals with a study of the process of basic reading instruction in Amharic. The process of basic reading instruction in Amharic has been investigated with the aid of systematic classroom observations. The systematic study is supplemented with a descriptive account of reading instruction, here called lesson protocols.

The purpose of the classroom study was to explore beginning reading teaching methods practised in YDLC schools. Beginning reading teaching signifies methods applied to teach beginners to read.

Before rendering an account of the classroom observation study, a conceptual background for the study is presented.

A. A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

The elements of the conceptual basis are as follows:

- Beginning reading teaching methods - a theoretical overview

- Beginning reading teaching methods in a literacy perspective

- Literacy methods in Ethiopia.

In the following presentation of the conceptual background, the scope gradually narrows from a general overview, down to the objective of the study, Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign, YDLC. The key notions of analysis and synthesis are introduced at the beginning and form a pervasive theme throughout the whole presentation.

BEGINNING READING TEACHING

Reading in its manifold aspects has been the object of virtually countless investigations. Gray (1960, quoted in Russell & Fea, 1963) arrived at an estimate of about 4000 research programs on the subject of reading instruction only.

Aspects of reading teaching treated in the research feature among others the role of teachers, reading readiness, the psychological nature of the reading process and beginning reading method. Emphasis in this acount will rest, however, on the last-mentioned aspect.

As a starting point for a discussion of reading methods it is perhaps appropriate to look at one of several available definitions of reading. The one selected here seems to capture the essential significance of reading. Jenkinson (1973, p. 45) thus defines reading as... "the act of responding to printed symbols so that meaning is created". She further contends that:

> ..."*getting meaning from the printed page is too limited a definition of reading. Bringing meaning to the printed page indicates more accurately the reciprocal process between printed symbols and the mind of the reader. Constructing meaning is a vital prerequisite of all reading. But reading is also a form of thinking, problem-solving or reasoning, which involves analysing and discriminating, judging, evaluating and synthesizing*".

Jenkinson's definition reflects two fundamental aspects of basal reading instruction; code and comprehension. Code in this particular context should be taken to mean the correspondence between printed symbols and speech sounds.

Among the numerous texts that deal with teaching methods in beginning reading reference is made to Chall (1967); Feitelson (1973); Harris (1969); Huey (1968); Malmquist (1973); Russell (1961); Sjöström (1974) and Smith & Johnson (1976).

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Various beginning teaching methods have been practised throughout the history of reading. Some methods date back to ancient Greece whereas others are quite novel. Attempts have been made to bring a measure of order into the welter of beginning reading approaches. Gray cited in Harris and Malmquist (1973) applied the following categories in order to distinguish between teaching methods:

- methods which initially emphasize elements of words and their sounds (alphabetic, phonic and syllabic methods)

- methods which initially emphasize meaning (word, phrase and story methods)

- the eclectic trend combining analytic, synthetic and analytic-synthetic methods.

Gray's categories bring to the fore two widely applied method concepts, namely synthetic and analytic. (See for instance Chall, 1967 and Malmquist, 1973). Since the perspective of synthetic and analytic methods are utilized in the observation study, they will be highlighted in the following.

Synthetic methods

Synthetic methods coincide with Gray's first category. One is concerned primarily with the segments of words i.e. letters, sounds and syllables. To make use of letters as units in a synthetic method is nowadays hardly common practice. The most frequent strategy is probably to base the synthetic approach on sounds. Reading instruction then proceeds to combining sounds into words, a synthesizing process. In synthetic methods initial emphasis is placed on what is known as breaking the code which is equivalent to mastering the linkage between written symbols and corresponding sounds.

Analytic methods

Applying analytic methods, basal reading instruction starts from words or phrases and sentences. Prime concern from the very outset of instruction, is with understanding the message conveyed by the printed symbols. A necessary condition is that the words represent something which is already known to learners. The codebreaking activities consist of dissecting whole words into their elements i.e. symbols and sounds - evidently an analytic process.

An essential difference between synthetic and analytic methods is inherent in the order in which breaking the code is emphasized in the teaching programme. According to the synthetic methods the code is attended to first, whereas analytic methods place initial accent on understanding.

The preceding account presupposes that methods are applied in pure and unadultered forms. That is a state of affairs which presumably seldom, if ever, occurs in actual learning situations.

There has been considerable argument about the relative merits of various methods in beginning reading instruction. Apparently it is a controversy which is bound to remain unsettled. Judging, however, from research results and the opinion of some of the authorities on reading instruction, there appears to exist a discernible preference for synthetic methods.

We shall now engage in a brief discussion about advantages and disadvantages of these two approaches in reading instruction.

Arguments for synthetic methods can be capsulized in the following manner:

- they provide the learner with a technique to attack and to read words that are hitherto unknown to her/him

- they work well with languages which have a fairly regular and consistent relationship between symbols and sounds

- they create a habit of combining sounds and symbols into words, gradually leading to proficiency in reading

Arguments against the synthetic approach raise the objection that students are to an intolerable degree exposed to isolated letters and sounds. Skills in the mechanics of reading are bought at the price of comprehension of what is read. The vocabulary in beginning reading material has to be restricted to simple and uninteresting words.

Advocates of the analytic methods like to draw parallels between their preferred reading approach and the way children acquire competence in spoken language, namely in whole words and phrases. Perception laws of gestalt theory have also been quoted in defence of the analytic methods (Pitman and St John, 1969). The analytic whole-word model is also supposed to facilitate good intonation of the recited text. Opponents of the analytic approach, on the other hand, maintain that pupils are bent on guessing the meaning of new words. The method is sometimes derisively known as the "look and guess" method. Pitman and St John (1969) caution that the analytic approach might endanger the development of a reading direction from left to right.

Eclectic method

As we have already pointed out, it is hard to conceive of a basal reading method which practises a purely synthetic or analytic method. Often there is a combination of the two teaching modes. Such an approach is outlined in Gray's third category "the eclectic trend" (see above p. 129). This approach is in the following referred to as the eclectic method. A rationale for the eclectic method is that a particular method suits one child better than it does another child. Pupils who are visually gifted probably learn more efficiently with an analytic method whereas children who are strong in auditory capacities may benefit most from a synthetic method (Pitman and St John, 1969).

READING TEACHING METHODS IN A LITERACY PERSPECTIVE

This section is intended to serve the dual purpose of hinting at circumstances specific to the literacy teaching context, and of examining methods used in the teaching of literacy.

The literacy teaching context

Some of the circumstances that are more or less typical of literacy teaching are summarized in the following. For a more thorough treatment of this subject, reference is made to Gudschinsky (1973); Neijs (1961); and Verner (1974).

- students are very often adults and attend school voluntarily; a pedagogic consequence is that reading teaching should be stimulating and interesting to the learner

- literacy is often taught in bilingual settings which means that students have to learn to read in a language which is not their mother tongue

- it is quite common that teachers are lacking professional training and are working on a voluntary basis

- in many instances physical resources, be it localities or teaching aids, are considerably limited in comparison with schools in affluent societies

- classes and teaching groups tend to be of substantial size; it is probably not uncommon for a literacy instructor to teach 50 students or more at a time.

Literacy teaching methods

Synthetic methods

Ana de Cañizares's (1957) compared global and synthetic techniques applied in teaching adults how to read in Cuba. (Global method is regarded as analogous to analytic because the accent is on words, sentences and phrases, with phonetic exercises based on these whole units). De Cãnizares's research was designed to throw light on the question whether methods and principles applied to children also suited adults. Her findings indicate that illiterate adults look for letters first since they have difficulties memorizing sentences. On the whole, however, De Cañizares's results tend to favour a global analytic technique.

Neijs (1961) writes that it has been found possible, the nature of language permitting, to read words and short sentences after two or three lessons, learning by a synthetic method. By 'nature of language' he apparently means degree of correspondence between sounds and symbols, the synthetic-phonetic method requiring a fairly close relationship between sounds and symbols. The synthetic method is also credited by Neijs for its ease to teach, a matter of importance when teachers are unskilled.

A disadvantage of the synthetic technique is that formal drill of meaningless elements is boring to the adult learner and puts a heavy load on memory.

Hand and Puder (reviewed in Literacy Discussion, 1970) find the synthetic approach appallingly dull to adult participants and caution that oral reading might assume a persistent monotony.

Analytic methods

The results of De Cañizares's (1957) Cuban study tend to be in favour of an analytically oriented approach, as we have just mentioned.

Judging from Neijs (1961) the analytic mode makes sense to the learner at once. Meaningful units make good psychological starting points. But on the other hand this technique requires relatively highly trained teachers.

In her Manual of Literacy for Preliterate Peoples, Sarah Gudschinsky (1973) confesses a preference for analysis over synthesis. She observes that in a preliterate society there is very little occasion for abstracting individual phonemes or syllables. Teaching, she asserts, should begin with whole words, because people will not react to anything smaller.

An analytic technique is also advocated in a Practical Guide to Functional Literacy (Unesco, 1973). A strategy is outlined where adult illiterates initially acquire a number of words. As the learners progress they are shown how to identify syllables and letters, which will then be used in syllables and words.

Hand and Puder (reviewed in Literacy Discussion, 1970) dealing with what they term the global technique, assert that it provides for the logical progression from whole to parts (an analytical process). But they also warn that this method may lead to limited word attack ability. By word attack ability they evidently mean the skill of relating printed symbols to corresponding sounds, and then being able to "attack" new words.

Eclectic method

The eclectic method, it will be recalled, is equivalent to a combination of synthetic and analytic techniques.

Neijs (1961) has the following to say on the subject of the eclectic method:

> *"One of the advantages of such an approach is that very quick progress can be made, but disadvantages are that the rather rapid changes from analysis to synthesis and vice versa tend to confuse the learners and impair retention of knowledge".*

LITERACY METHODS IN ETHIOPIA

This section concludes the overview of reading methods intended to serve as a conceptual background for the observation study. We shall open with a description of traditional reading instruction in the Orthodox Church schools and in the Islamic Koran schools. That part is succeeded by an account of reading teaching methods in more recent times, including YDLC instructional techniques.

Ethiopian Church schools

As can be recalled from Chapter 2, Church education has a long history. This school system has changed and expanded with the passage of time. After the seventeenth century, however, the Church education system has remained more or less unchanged (Haile Gabriel, 1976).

The beginning level of the Orthodox Church school system is called the "nebab bet" or "house of reading". The nebab bet is of particular interest in the present context since it is concerned with elementary reading instruction. Nebab bets are found primarily in connection with churches and monasteries. The instruction is offered by a priest or a church-educated layman. The church school is usually a one-room building in the vicinity of the church. Sometimes classes are conducted under the shelter of a tree.

There is an estimated 15 000 of these one-teacher schools. With an average of 20 students in each class the schools represent a student population of 300 000 (Haile Gabriel, 1976). However, the significance of the Church schools is diminishing as modern educational facilities become available also in rural areas. Moreover, the services of the Church schools are limited to members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Haile Gabriel, 1976).

Children join the school around the age of seven. The majority of the students are boys, even if there are no formal restrictions for girls to enter school. Students often come from relatively well-to-do families (Girma 1967, Haile Gabriel 1976). The aim of the elementary education in the nebab bet is to teach the children to read religious books.

The instruction is traditionally almost entirely limited to the teaching of reading skills, whereas writing instruction is usually not included (Bairu, 1973; Haile Gabriel, 1976). More recently, however, Church instruction has included writing since nebab bets have assumed the functions of preparing children for the modern schools (Haile Gabriel 1976, Head and Negash 1976). The teaching of reading and writing is mentioned by certain authors (Pankhurst 1976; Tesfaye & Taylor, 1976; Wagaw, 1979). Our impression from the literature reviewed is, however, that writing played a marginal role in the traditional Church schools.

Reading instruction is traditionally given in the Geez language, but in recent times Amharic has taken over from Geez (Head and Negash, 1976). Geez is the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Church, and it has ceased to function as a spoken language. It has been described as "the Latin of Ethiopia" (Pankhurst, 1976). Geez is historically closely related to Amharic, and the two languages use basically the same writing system. Amharic uses 231 characters plus some 40 additional signs. The Ethiopian writing system is often referred to as a syllabary rather than as an alphabet. In principle the 231 symbols represent syllable combinations consisting of a consonant and an accompanying vowel. Thirty-three characters called "fidels" occur in seven forms each thus totalling 231 symbols. In the following, "fidel" is used interchangeably with letter, symbol and character.

In the nebab bet reading activities commence with the teaching of the letters or fidels. Even if Amharic has replaced Geez in the Church schools, the method has not changed substantially until very recently (Head and Negash, 1976).

The teaching sequence for the Amharic letters is as follows: (Haile Gabriel, 1976).

1. The child touches the letter from left to right and names the letters in a loud voice. This procedure is repeated for months. A printed table displaying all the letters is used.

2. In order to avoid mechanic memorization and to help the student to distinguish between individual letters he practises pronouncing each letter from right to left and then from top to bottom.

3. The child now uses another table with the letters arranged differently from the first one. This exercise is intended to help the child identify the different characters of the fidels.

When the student has begun to master the letters or fidels he starts practising to read a text. A common initial text is the first epistle of St John. The reading practise of this text is executed in four steps (Haile Gabriel, 1976).

1. The student pronounces each letter of the word pointing at the letters with a straw.

2. The student tries to combine the letters into words chanting as he does so.

3. The student reads whole words in a chanting manner. He pays attention to accents, to words that must be read together, to pauses and to soft pronounciation of syllables.

4. The student practices reading at a very lively pace without making any mistakes.

The student now masters the mechanics of reading in Geez and moves to reading various religious texts. The reading is done without comprehension, since the children do not understand Geez. The elementary education of the nebab bet usually takes two to three years (Girma, 1967). It is evident that the method practised in the Church schools is distinctively synthetic.

In order to relate church education to the object of the present study, a number of features that are to varying degrees common to Church and YDLC schools are outlined:

- low-budget enterprises, firmly rooted in the local community
- relatively few girl-students
- reading instruction is aided by monitors (see for instance Haile Gabriel, 1976)
- students learn to read in a language that is foreign to them
- oral repetition of letters and words in reading instruction.

Koran Schools

A large proportion of the Ethiopian population adhers to the Islamic faith. According to Annuaire de l'Afrique 1979 forty-five per cent are Moslems. The presence of Islam in Ethiopia dates back to the time of the Prophet Mohammed. Islam in likeness with Christianity, is a religion of the book. The Islamic reading tradition in Ethiopia has a long history. Orthodox Church schools have their counterparts in the so-called Koran schools. (See for example Pankhurst, 1976). The Koran schools are connected with the local mosques and run by the local communities.

The aim of the Koran schools is to teach children to read the Koran and other religious texts in classic Arabic. To most of the learners, Arabic is a foreign language. The traditional Koran school system consists of a lower and a higher level. In this context we shall focus on the lower level, where elementary reading is taught. This stage, known as "tehaji" is parallel to the Christian "nebab bet". The reading teaching process may be summarized in the following way (Haile Gabriel, 1976).

1. The student learns to name and identify the letters of the alphabet. The teacher may be assisted by an advanced student. Choral reading of the letters is also practised.

2. The students learn to add vowels to the letters.

3. The students practise reading words, which is done by pronouncing each letter separately and then combining them into a word.

4. The students read and memorize the Koran.

Copying of letters of the Koran is also practised.

Comparing traditional Christian and Moslem schools there are striking parallels. We shall concentrate the comparison on reading methods. The synthetic approach, combining lesser elements into words is evident in both systems. Moreover one notices the assistance of monitors (Haile Gabriel, 1976). Traditional methods in Christian and in Moslem schools are also characterized by mechanical and monotonous drilling of isolated letters, and of the reading without comprehension of religious texts in an unfamiliar language. Furthermore the emphasis is on reading skills rather than on writing proficiency.

MODERN EDUCATION

Leaving the sphere of traditional education in Ethiopia as manifested by the Orthodox Church and Koran schools we now turn to modern education, admittedly using a less than precise term. Modern education in the present context refers to education in Ethiopia after the turn of the last century. Traditional and modern education are presented under different rubrics. That does not imply, however, that traditional education ceased to exist after the advent of modern education. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has continued to contribute to mass education adopting a modern curriculum for their schools, (Haile Gabriel, 1976). Modern education is also treated in the following texts: Markakis (1975); Pankhurst (1976); Tesfaye & Taylor (1976) and Wagaw (1979). Given the scope of the present study, we shall continue to concentrate on reading instruction.

The language situation

Before we address ourselves to reading teaching methods in modern Ethiopian education, a few observations on the language situation will be made. It is of interest to note that Amharic as a subject in Ethiopian schools is of a fairly recent date. Tesfaye & Taylor (1976) maintain that:

> *"Except for some indirect teaching we have no information about Amharic being taught as a subject before 1919"* (p. 371).

As already pointed out in Chapter 2, Ethiopia is a linguistically diversified country with a large number of languages and dialects. Amharic is the official language spoken by about one third of the population (cf Bender et al., 1976 and Ullendorff, 1973). Up to the times of the political changes starting in 1974, Amharic has had a monopoly as literacy language (see for instance Cooper, 1976). Following the Ethiopian revolution, languages other than Amharic have been introduced as literacy languages. The Development through Cooperation Campaign, proclaimed by the Provisional Military Government in 1975, the "Zemecha", included literacy among its activities. The Zemecha conception of instructional language held that literacy ideally should be taught in the vernaculars (Development through Cooperation, 1975). The nation-wide literacy campaign which was launched in 1979 provided reading material in five languages (SIDA, 1980).

Amharic reading methods

Having pointed at the role of Amharic as an official as well as an educational language, we shall attempt to describe methods for teaching elementary Amharic reading. To begin with we shall look at normative documents such as curricula and teachers' guides. Later on, a review of Amharic primers is presented.

Language curricula

MEFA 1947/48

The first written curriculum for the teaching of Amharic appeared in 1947/48, published by The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, MEFA (Tesfaye & Taylor, 1976). It emphasizes the teaching of formal grammar as a methodological device in Amharic instruction. Tesfaye & Taylor do not, however convey any information that can be related to our conceptual perspective of analysis and synthesis.

MEFA 1958/59

The initial curriculum of 1947/48 seems to have been replaced by the MEFA curriculum of 1958/59. Tesfaye & Taylor (1976) report methodological recommendations from that document. Thus the following activities are suggested for the teaching of Amharic in grade 1:

- Learning the alphabet through simple words
- Reading words
- Simple sentences
- Handwriting

(Tesfaye & Taylor, 1976, p. 374).

It appears that a synthetic method is envisaged since learning the alphabet seems to be at the forefront of reading activities. Indeed, learning the letters is done through simple words, but words are probably used for providing instructional material and not for conveying meaning.

MEFA 1967

The MEFA Adult Education and Literacy Syllabus from 1967 outlines the process of teaching Amharic in seven steps. The first two steps are as follows:

> "*a) Teach the illiterates the Amharic Alphabet in a simple and easily understandable manner.*
> *b) Teach them the proper way of writing the Amharic letters*"
> (Ministry of Education, 1967, p. 2).

Reading and understanding is the objective of a later step "d". The above document evidences a straighforward synthetic approach.

MEFA 1970/71

The MEFA Elementary School Curriculum 1970/71 (Ministry of Education, 1970/71) recommends that letters be identified with the help of words. Teachers are also encouraged to deal with the shapes of letters and to make use of drawings in their reading instruction.

Teaching guides and manuals

NLCO 1964

The National Literacy Campaign Organization in 1964 published a Teaching Guide to go with the Primer (Head & Negash, 1976). It reflects a synthetic mode of initial reading teaching, and recommends exercises focussing on systematic features of letter shapes.

MEFA 1974

Functional Literacy in Ethiopia (Ministry of Education, 1974), is not a teachers' manual but has been included on the grounds that it clearly mirrors a methodological attitude. This informative document, published in conjunction with the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project, WOALP explicitly recommends a global (analytic) approach.

Other method documents, the YDLC Teachers' Manual from 1970/71 and the YDLC Tentative Curriculum 1970 are treated later on p. 149 and 151 in connection with YDLC methods.

In brief summary: the texts related to reading teaching methods which we have just commented upon, span a period of time from 1947 to 1974. The material is probably representative of widespread approaches to reading teaching during a period which also includes the operations of YDLC. There is a distinctive flavour of synthetic method, probably reflecting the heritage of traditional reading instruction in Ethiopia.

Amharic Primers

The following section contains a survey of Amharic primers published between 1929 and 1970. A primer is an elementary schoolbook used for the teaching of reading. The object of the primer review is to trace the prevalence of - and as the case may be - changes in methodological approaches. The primer survey is focussed on the synthetic-analytic perspective guiding the observation study. Allocating one method aspect or the other is by necessity a process of subjective judgement based in several cases on limited data. Consequently, the findings should be received as tentative. The primer survey is based on material compiled and commented on by Head and Negash (1976). From Head's and Negash's selective list of 13 entries we have retained 10 which contain information relevant for our purpose. The primer survey is presented in Table 5.1 in the form of a chronological list.

Table. 5.1. Chronological list of selected Amharic Primers.

	Year of publication	Title/ Description	Published by	Inferred method
1)	1929	For the First Year; Amharic Reading Primer for Children	D.E.	Synthetic
2)	1935	Beginning Fidal Study	BCMS	Synthetic
3)	1949	Amharic Primer	MEFA	Synthetic
4)	1956	Amharic Primer	MEFA	Synthetic?
5)	1959	Gospel Fidal; An Easy Road from Fidal to Reading	SIM	Synthetic
6)	1961	Amharic Primer (YDLC)	YD	Eclectic
7)	1963	Amharic Fidal Primer	NLCO	Synthetic
8)	1965	Reading and writing by Radio	MEFA	Synthetic
9)	1970	Fidal Primer	MEFA	Synthetic
10)	1970	Family Living	WOALP	Analytic

Source: Head and Negash (1976).

Abbreviations: D.E.=Department of Education, created by Menelik II, in 1909. BCMS=Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, MEFA=Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. SIM=Sudan Interior Mission, after 1973 Society of International Missionaries. YD=Yemissrach Dimts, NLCO= National Literacy Campaign Organization, WOALP=Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project.

Apart from aspects of reading theory, the material presented in the primer survey reflects certain methodological phenomena that appear to have an innovative character. These allegedly innovative practices are outlined below without reference to frequency or primer texts.

- Basing the vocabulary on frequency studies of letters and words as well as on practical usefulness to the learner

- Graphic analysis of fidels or letters
- Using illustrations in systematic efforts to facilitate reading instruction e.g. associating a drawing with a particular fidel
- Making the text-material functional and work-oriented
- Producing ancillary materials such as teaching guides, follow-up texts, flash-cards etc
- Adapting literacy training to suit adults.

With regard to reading teaching theory, an eclectic approach is discernible in the YDLC primer of 1961. The WOALP-text from 1970 reflects an analytic method. Incidentally, Head & Negash (1976) conclude their treatise of WOALP with an observation which pertains to the present methodological perspective.

> *"WOALP primers appear to differ from most of the primers described earlier in two main ways: (1) they are most clearly aimed at adults and, of course, oriented from the very beginning towards specific work-related concepts: and (2) they get away completely from the fidal table as a productive device, taking a global approach to language starting with a complete sentence and then breaking it down into component parts (first words, then fidal) rather then the reverse order"* (p. 43).

YEMISSRACH DIMTS LITERACY CAMPAIGN

The following section contains a description of YDLC reading teaching methods. At this instance the emphasis is on suggested and recommended methods. Instructional praxis is treated later in this text when the classroom observation data are accounted for. YDLC method attitudes are expressed explicitly in documents such as Tentative Curriculum (YDLC, 1970) and Teachers' Manual (YDLC, 1970/71). A methodological structure is implied in the YDLC Primer (Jalatta, 1961). Notions about YDLC teaching methods can also be found in various other texts i.e. reports issued by YDLC Headquarters and in professional journals.

The YDLC Primer

The YDLC primer was written by Jalatta Jaffero and first published in 1961. By 1973/74 it had seen nine printings totalling 260 000 copies. The YDLC primer appears to be one of the more widely used texts for beginning reading instruction in Ethiopia. It is probably the most influential method document in YDLC teaching, as it embodies an instructional technique. Comments on the YDLC primer are found in Cotterell (1973) in Head & Negash (1975) and in Jalatta (1964). Jalatta Jaffero spent a short period of study in 1961 at the Mindolo ecumenical training centre for Christian missionary writers, located in Kitwe, Zambia. The Kitwe method reflected in Jalatta's primer involves selection of highly frequent syllables from which words are then constructed. Both syllables and words can be utilized for various types of exercises. The tightly organized layout of the pages is another aspect of the Kitwe technique which also provides for systematic and continous review of presented material.

According to Head & Negash (1976, p. 35):

> *"Material for the primer was chosen on the basis of initial syllable frequencies and word use counts, as well as the practical usefulness of the vocabulary".*

The same authors observe that the YDLC primer takes advantage of graphic similarities of letters.

The preceding paragraphs have commented on the method of writing the YDLC primer. Let us now look at the method of teaching inherent in the primer (fig. 5.1).

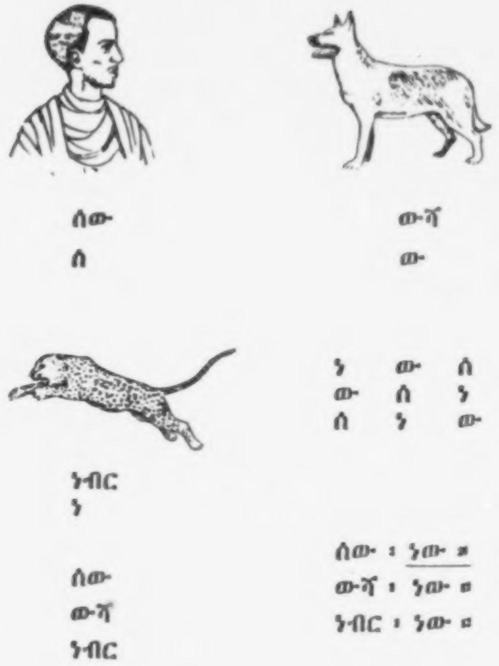

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Figure 5.1. The first page of the YDLC primer. Source: Jalatta, 1961 and reprints, p. 3. Reduced, original size 21 x 27 centimetres.

The various features of a page introducing new material can be summarized in the following manner:

1. picture
2. word
3. initial fidel
4. isolated fidels in a table
5. words - isolated from pictures
6. sentences.

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The layout of the page suggests a certain sequencing of the material in accordance with the above structure.

The unconnected sentences are later followed by short paragraphs.

Introduction of new words relies heavily on pictures. This should be wieved against the fact that the majority of the learners are not Amharic-speaking. The pictures are in all probability intended to facilitate comprehension of new vocabulary. It should be kept in mind that the perception and understanding of pictures cannot always be taken for granted among the learners in YDLC's operational environments. With regard to the issue of pictorial comprehension in traditional milieus, see Fuglesang (1973). Another way of bridgeing the language gap would be to make use of second language oriented vocabulary (Cotterell, 1973). The obvious second language in this context is Oromo. A critical review of the YDLC primer indicates that the text is best suited to Amharic-speaking communities.

Looking at the presentation of isolated fidels or letters one notices that in a given word only the initial fidel is treated.

Such a practice is probably a consequence of the strategy to select words partly on the basis of initial syllable frequencies (Head & Negash, 1976).

It is not easy to form a clearcut opinion regarding the methodological approach. The initial presentation of whole words suggests an analytical technique. On the other hand there is a strong emphasis on isolated letters. Our somewhat cautious conclusion is that the YDLC primer reflects an eclectic or combined approach. In comparison, Head & Negash (1976) maintain that the YDLC primer favours a "global" (inverted commas theirs) outlook, starting as it does with words and sentences rather than with syllables. Cotterell (1973) by contrast, argues that the reader of the YDLC type of primers tend to learn syllables and fails to learn word recognition.

The YDLC teachers' manual

YDLC reading teaching methods are formulated in an explicit and fairly detailed manner in the YDLC teachers' manual (YDLC, 1970/71). The manual being a companion book to the primer, contains instructions how to treat a particular page and lesson in the primer.

Before describing the manual's reading teaching approach brief reference is made to a few pieces of general advice. The teacher is for instance discouraged from starting with counting the fidels according to the old system. The manual also recommends the teaching of one student at a time. The student who has been instructed by the teacher is then supposed to teach fellow-students. In other words, the monitor system which has been employed in traditional schools is advocated.

For the large portion of students who are not Amharic speakers new words are to be translated into the student's own language. Moreover, the manual stresses the need for adapting instruction to suit adult learners.

The recommended procedure of teaching new material can be summarized in a three stage sequence, (see also figure 6.2).

1. Start with the first picture. Pointing at it say "seo" (man) three times. Let the student repeat.

2. Point at the word beneath the picture and read "seo" three times. Have the student repeat. If necessary, translate the word into the student's own language.

3. Read the fidel ሰ (se) three times, making the student repeat after you.

Consequently the reading teaching sequence just outlined contains three elements treated in a given order, that is; a) picture, b) word, and c) letter.

As we have already observed, only the initial letter or fidel is dealt with. After three new words and three new fidels have been treated, the small table of fidels in the middle of the page is attacked (figures 5.1 and 5.2). The table contains the new fidels and is read horisontally and vertically, a technique which is practised in traditional teaching as well. Later on the table is expanded to provide review of fidels learned previously. We have already pointed out that constant revision of material covered is an important principle in the YDLC primer.

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ሰ	ን	ው

Figure 5.2. Table of fidels from the first page of the YDLC primer. Source: Jalatta (1961).

Reading of words and the three short sentences in the lower right hand corner concludes the reading of the page. The teacher now reiterates the procedure with another student and engages his freshly instructed pupil in teaching a classmate.

With regard to the methodological pattern, the manual being a complement to the primer reflects and articulates the instructional technique embodied in that book. The instruction takes off in an analytic manner from whole words but it is not clear whether the students actually read whole words at the initial presentation. Considerable attention is directed towards isolated fidels, suggesting a synthetic attitude. Our conclusion is that the manual suggests an eclectic approach combining analytic and synthetic techniques.

The YDLC manual also recommends exercises in writing, which obviously are introduced at the very beginning of the reading process. Reasons for such a praxis are offered, suggesting that writing exercises provide variation in instructional methods keeping fast learners occupied while students who are lagging behind are given a chance to catch up with the rest of the class.

The YDLC Tentative Curriculum

The YDLC Tentative Curriculum (YDLC, 1970) exhorts the teacher to follow the instructions expressed in the Teachers' Manual. It also puts forward certain views on writing:

"Let the student begin writing after completing two new lessons. The practice should be based on the letters given in the lessons. Let the practice be individual" (p. 5).

It is a point of interest that the writing exercise is to be based on letters treated during the lesson, suggesting a synthetic technique.

To summarize the preceding review of literacy training methods in Ethiopia, we have seen an ancient tradition of reading teaching manifested in the Christian Church schools and in the Islamic Koran Schools. From the point of view of reading instruction theory, the traditional approach is synthetic focussing as it does on isolated letters or fidels. Modern education has brought specifically designed materials for literacy training. The methodology reflected in primers and curricula, appears to have a synthetic tint, suggesting an influence of traditional practices. YDLC methods seem to favour an eclectic approach, combining synthetic and analytic strategies.

B. THE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION STUDY

Purpose

The classroom observation study has the aim to investigate beginning reading teaching methods practised in YDLC schools.

METHOD

An obvious way of acquiring knowledge about the teaching process is to study what actually goes on in the classroom. We decided to gather information on teaching methods with the aid of systematic classroom observations. Using predetermined categories in a systematic way provides the conditions for quantitative analyses of the data. The structured schedule was combined with open descriptions, here known as classroom protocols. These protocols were intended to capture the teaching process in a qualitative manner.

Observations of classroom behaviour is nowadays widely utilized in research on the teaching process. There exists a vast amount of literature on the theory and praxis of systematic observations of classroom activities. To present an overview of the abundant documentation from this sphere of research is, it should be pointed out, beyond the scope of the present study. The reader who wants to become familiarized with this subject is advised to consult some of the numerous texts dealing with classroom observations, e.g. Jackson (1974); Medley & Mitzel (1963); Nuthall (1970); Rosenshine & Furst (1973); Smith & Pohland (1974); Stake (1970) and Westin (1978).

Sample

It was intended to carry out the classroom observation study in all the eight schools originally selected for the evaluation study. Two schools, however, 1.1 and 3.1 had ceased to exist when the observation study was to be implemented. Moreover, two schools functioned irregularly. Consequently a large portion of the observation material emanates from the remaining four schools. In order to increase the amount of observation data, six schools were added to the sample. Five of these were YDLC-schools, three of which were located in the Addis area and two in Gamu Gofa. The remaining school was not operated by YDLC, but contained students from school 1.1 in the original sample. Only one observation visit was made to this school. The eleven observation schools are listed in Table 5.2. The six new schools representing roughly one third of the observation sessions are not included in any other phase of the evaluation study.

Table 5.2. Schools and classes that took part in the observation study by name of class, grade and number of visits.

School	Name of class	No. of visits	Grade at visit
1.2	2	1	2
	1	1	1
	1 B	1	1
2.1	2	1	2
	1 A	1	1
	3	1	3
2.2	1	13	1
	2	1	2
3.2	1 A	7	1
	1 AB	2	1
4.2	1	1	1
5.1	1	4	1
5.2	1	3	1
5.3	1 (0)	2	1 (0)
	1	1	1
6.1	1	1	1
6.2	1	1	1
6.3	1	1	1
Total	-	43	-

Note: Beginners' classes were occasionally designated as grade 0.

Schools 1.2 through 4.2 belong to the original sample whereas schools 5.1 etc were included for the sole purpose of the classroom observation study. Names of classes are based on grades. Letters that are added represent parallels.

Eighteen different classes were involved in the observation study. The number of visits to the 18 observation classes is not uniformly distributed. One class for instance was visited on 13 occasions. This is due to practical reasons.

It should be noted that "class" in the YDLC context did not necessarily represent the well-defined and stable administrative entity which generally is connected with this concept. Classroom protocols were recorded in nine classes from seven different schools, all of which belonged to the systematic observation sample. The number of protocols is 11, covering about 350 minutes of lesson time.

Instrument

Observation data were collected with the aid of a classroom observation schedule, which we developed specifically for this study. In addition a number of written verbal descriptions of lessons in reading and writing were carried out.

The classroom observation schedule, (COS) consists of three components: a form for systematic observation data, a form for the registration of background data and guidelines for using the observation schedule (Appendix H). The evaluation staff who developed COS were all teachers with experience of instructing students to read. Through other phases of the evaluation study we were also acquainted with the specific situation prevailing in the schools selected for the observation study.

The construction process may be capsulized in the following manner:

1. Exploring content and activities of elementary reading instruction by making exploratory classroom observations, scrutinizing manuals, curricula etc as well as drawing on personal experience.

2. Identifying observation variables.

3. Deciding on a suitable format for COS.

4. Pretesting - COS passed through three tryouts and subsequent revisions.

In the following paragraphs the various stages of procedure are spelt out in more detail.

Exploring content and activities

Before deciding on observation variables, it was deemed necessary to trace an outline of what went on in YDLC classrooms during sessions of basal reading instruction in Amharic. We also wanted to know what was supposed to happen from the point of view of pedagogical advice expressed in manuals, curricula and the like. Sources of a priori knowledge utilized for this purpose are outlined above. Exploratory classroom observations in reading classes were also undertaken.

Identifying variables

Examination of the data from the previous phase of the construction process yielded a set of observation variables. Observation variables are those appearing in the form for systematic observations (Appendix H) and pertaining to the process of teaching basal reading in Amharic. Emerging from the exploratory phase too was a number of background factors to be recorded in the background sheet. Variables related to the process of teaching are grouped under the following headings:

- Organization
- Reading activity
- Reading method
- Reading aids
- Writing activity
- Writing aids
- Writing content
- Primer
- Homework
- Material covered.

As already mentioned, COS contains a sheet for the registration of background data. The corresponding background variables are structured in a number of subdivisions:

- Teacher
- Students
- School
- Classrooms.

The design of the COS bears a certain resemblence to an instrument developed by Cornell et al. (1952). (See also Medley & Mitzel, 1963 for comments on the instrument). The Cornell et al. instrument displayed certain features that seemed to work well with the purpose of the present study. The instrument developed for the present study, including Guidelines for its handling, is reprinted in Appendix H.

The tryout study

COS passed through three tryouts and subsequent revisions. Tryout schools were for reasons of practicality selected in Addis Ababa and its surroundings. They were chosen with a view to matching the field situation to a reasonable degree on such aspects as students, teachers, teaching content and equipment. Among other things the preliminary studies provided the observers with experience and practice related to the classroom study.

A method for studying reliability in observation instruments is to obtain an assessment of the agreement between two simultaneous and independent observers (see among others Medley & Mitzel, 1963; Withall & Lewis, 1963 and Stukåt, 1970). Exercises of this nature were carried out both at the construction stage and by using the finished instrument.

Six observation sessions utilizing the finished instrument were organized in order to assess the reliability in terms of agreement between two judges. The amount of sessions is admittedly limited, but should be viewed in the light of the prevailing circumstances notably restricted availability of classes and scarceness of time. A numerical value of the reliability was determined by calculating the proportion of identical classifications made by the two Ethiopian counterparts, who carried out the bulk of observations. The average percentage of agreement for the whole instrument was 77%. The study on reliability expressed as observer agreement seems to indicate a moderate but acceptable level of reliability.

Procedure

The field phase of the entire study on YDLC schools covered a period of time from March 1975 to June 1976. The classroom data were gathered between August 1975 and June 1976.

A problem often discussed in connection with classroom observations is that of observer effects (see for example Medley & Mitzel, 1963 and Stern, 1963). The point at issue is that the sheer presence of one or more observers affects classroom behaviour, thereby allegedly deteriorating the quality of observation data. A strategy resorted to in trying to alleviate the observer effect is to give the class opportunity to getting used to observer presence. It is supposed that students and teachers are able to ignore the "intruder" after a few familiarization sessions.

Due to problematic field conditions, we had to forego preliminary familiarization visits. On the other hand, 30 out of 43 observation sessions were conducted in schools which had previously been visited on at least two occasions during earlier phases of the investigation. It seem fair to assume that students and teachers were aquainted with the observers and familiar with their presence in the classroom. Teachers were instructed to carry on with their teaching in a usual manner and not to make any changes prompted by the presence of the observers. Of the remaining 13 sessions outside the main study only three represent single calls to one school.

The number of observation sessions carried out was 43. Each observation session was intended to last for 30 minutes, covering ten continous periods of three minutes each. We observed during the full duration of each period and there were no pauses in observation between periods. To keep track of the three-minute intervals we used either a stop-watch or tape-recorded time signals. With regard to the procedure of recording observations, reference is made to "Guidelines for use of the Classroom Observation Schedule" in Appendix H.

It was, however, not always possible for an observation session to last for a full 30 minutes. Reasons for less than complete sessions were of a practical nature. So for instance were time patterns for lessons sometimes somewhat irregular. It occurred not infrequently that lessons would come to an end short of the 30 minutes envisaged for a complete observation session. Ideally the 43 sessions would have yielded 430 periods, but the actual number is restricted to 380, equalling 1140 minutes of observations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Presentation of results from the classroom observation study is organized in three sections:

- background
- systematic observations
- classroom protocols.

BACKGROUND

Background data were obtained on certain characteristics of students, teachers and on schools and classrooms. The resulting information is briefly summarized in the following section.

1. A comparison between classroom observation data and other available data from Ethiopia seems to imply that students on roll in observation classrooms were fewer compared both to YDLC classrooms in general and to classrooms in other types of schools.

2. Data collected at 25 observation sessions yielded an average actual attendance of 44 students.

3. The majority of observations were undertaken in grade 1.

4. The main part of the observation students had attended school for less than one full school year. The average length of schooling was 4.4 months, which corresponds to slightly more than half a school year. Data on students are aggregated at the class level.

5. Amharic, the target language, was spoken as first language in not more than one of the observation classes. Consequently most of the students were obliged to read in a language which was foreign to them. It should be noted that information is missing from 6 of the 18 classes.

6. Teachers in observation classes were quite youthful and mostly men. They had studied from four to eleven years and almost all reported a teaching experience of one year or more.

7. Observation school buildings were simple structures built with local materials. Benches and desks were absent from many of the classrooms. A blackboard was virtually the only item of teaching equipment.

SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATIONS

Before looking at results of the observation study a brief comment on some concepts used in the analysis are given. The observation instrument provides for observation periods each of one lasting for three minutes. Ten observation periods numbered 1 - 10 represent a sequence of time called an observation session. Each three-minute period, when observation took place, equals an observation unit, which is a quantitative term.

The Classroom situation

Under this heading we shall consider how teaching was organized in terms of the teacher's involvement with class and individuals.

Table 5.3. Organization of classroom teaching by number of observation units.

Type of organization	Observation units	
	N	%
1	306	81
2	23	6
3	50	13
9	1	0
Total	380	100

Legend: 1 = Class - teacher assistance
2 = Class - no teacher assistance
3 = Individual - teacher assistance
9 = Not stated, not applicable
See also Notes on the Recording of Certain Observations, Appendix H).

The typical organization pattern of classroom teaching is one where the teacher is involved with the whole class. The YDLC recommended strategy of instructing individual students does not seem to have been adopted to any great extent. If one examines the data on distribution of organization types across observation periods, one notices a tendency for increasing involvement with individuals towards the end observation sessions.

Reading teaching methods

The following section deals with the process of teaching reading in observation classrooms. In accordance with the aims of this study, primary importance is attached to methods applied in beginning teaching of Amharic reading. In the present context writing activities will also be treated.

The observation study of reading teaching methods is related to on the one hand theoretical considerations accounted for previously and on the other hand to methodological recommendations and practices in literacy contexts with special reference to Ethiopia and Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign. It will be recalled that the discussion on reading teaching theory was related to three principal methodological approaches; synthetic, analytic and eclectic.

The section of the observation instrument which addresses itself specifically to this subject is labelled Reading Method. It purports to cover 12 different aspects of basic reading instruction in YDLC classrooms. (See Appendix H). Reading Method refers in principle to observation periods when classroom behaviour implied oral, teacher-led class instruction.

Reading Method covers 216 out of a total of 380 observation units, lasting three minutes each. The 216 Reading Method periods contain four instances when the class was not assisted by a teacher, and 17 entries indicating that the teacher was occupied with individual students. In the course of these 216 units, 475 entries were made. The discrepancy between the amount of units, and the amount of entries is explained by the fact that a so called sign system of recording was adopted, allowing for several entries to be made during a single observation period. (Appendix H, see also Medley & Mitzel, 1963, p. 301 f).

Figure 5.3 and Table 5.4 show how Reading Method was distributed over lesson time.

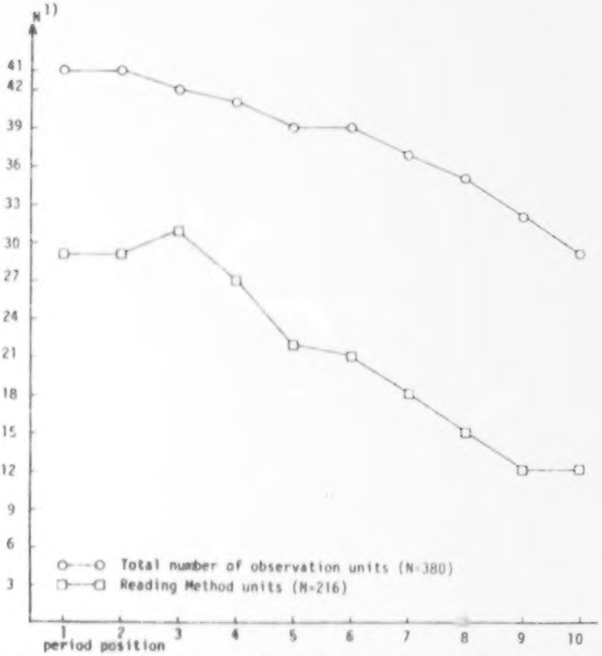

Figure 5.3. Distribution of Reading Method units over observation sessions by total number of observation units.

1) N = Number of observation forms with observations in period positions 1,2...10.

Figure 5.3 shows a pronounced descent in the amount of Reading Method throughout the observation sessions. This should be compared to a corresponding drop in the number of observation units. The explanation for the decrease of observation units is that due to circumstances beyond our control, not all observation sessions lasted for a full 30 minutes.

In order to alleviate the effect of diminishing numbers of observation units, a ratio of Reading Method units to the total number of observation units is computed. The resulting values are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. Proportion Reading Method (RM) activities to total number of observation units.

Obs. period		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Total obs. units	N	43	43	42	41	39	39	37	35	32	29	380
R M units	N	29	29	31	27	22	21	18	15	12	12	216
R M	%	67	67	74	66	56	54	49	43	38	41	57

The decline in Reading Method activities cannot be explained as simply a function of a decline in observation units because the proportion of Reading Method activities is also diminishing over the ten observation periods. Our data suggest that oral reading instruction is most frequent in earlier stages of observation sessions, irrespective of the larger quantity of observation units during that part. As we shall see later, the amount of writing tends to increase as observation sessions progress over time. These findings appear to have a certain validity with respect to reading instruction in YDLC schools, namely regarding the relative sequencing of reading and writing. It can be speculated that the latter portion of a lesson serves as a follow-up to the preceding exercises in reading. It is also possible that writing activities are comparatively less exacting in terms of efforts and concentration, on the part of students and teachers alike.

Analysis of Reading Method aspects

Having looked at distribution of Reading Method across observation sessions, we now intend to study the 12 different aspects of Reading Method. We shall begin with an examination of frequencies of the method aspects summed over all observation periods. After that we shall look at combinations of method aspects within single observation periods. Finally we shall consider how various aspects are distributed across observation sessions. A segment of the Classroom Observation Schedule is displayed below:

	Observation period									
C. READING METHOD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Fidel drill										
2. Features of fidels										
3. Fidels to words										
4. Words to fidels										
5. Whole words										
6. Words to sentences										
7. Sentences to words										
8. Whole sentences										
9. Paragraphs										
10. Grammar										
11. Vernacular										
12. Translation										

Figure 5.4. A Segment of The Classroom Observation Schedule.

Reading Method aspects 1-8 are briefly described in Appendix H. Aspect 9 refers to paragraphs as a unit of text in reading exercises. Aspect number 10 implies that grammatical material is treated. Aspects 11 and 12 finally, indicate the use of local language.

From the point of view of reading teaching theory aspects 1, 2, and 3 reflect a synthetic approach, whereas 4, 5, 6 and 8 mirror an analytic technique.

It will be remembered from the preceding overview of reading methods that synthetic methods emphasize elements of words such as letters and syllables. Analytic methods on the other hand are concerned with larger linguistic elements like words and phrases. In synthetic methods prime concern is with exercises aiming at "breaking the code", which is the same as translating written symbols into sounds. Analytic methods aim at comprehension of the written message from the very start of the learning process.

Reading Method summed over observation periods

Figure 5.5 accounts for frequencies of Reading Method aspects 1-12, summed over the ten observation periods, and representing 475 registered occurrences. It also suggests the incidence of the synthetic and analytic approaches respectively.

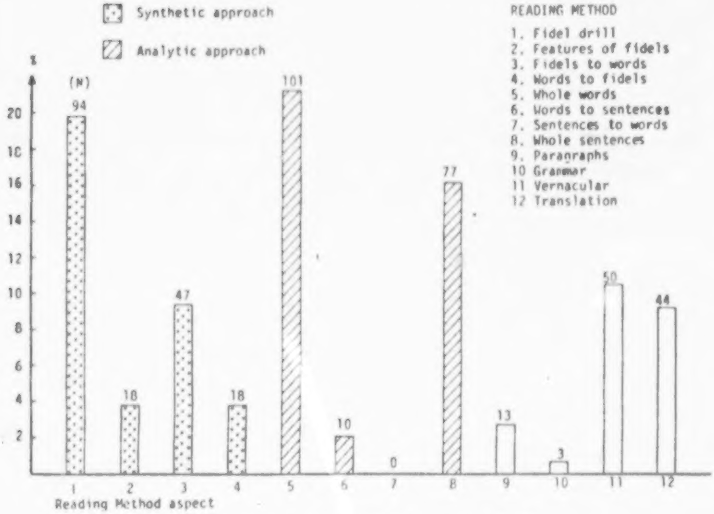

Figure 5.5. Percentage distribution of Reading Method aspects. N=475.

Analytic aspects are slightly more frequent than synthetic aspects in the data displayed in Figure 5.4. Particularly noticeable is the incidence of Whole words. This phenomenon should be viewed against the fact that exercises with isolated whole words play an important role in the YDLC Primer, as well as in the YDLC Teachers' Guide.

There are certain other points to consider regarding exercises with Whole words. It can be questioned whether students actually read the words. Choral reading is a traditionally much practised method which is also employed in YDLC schools. And unison chanting of words would not necessarily entail actual reading. On the other hand, words practised in unison repetition are normally in view to the students, either from the blackboard or from the book, or both.

It is also neccessary to pay attention to the issue of comprehension. The analytic method has been derisively labelled as the "look and guess"-way to reading. The risk for reading without comprehension is evidently aggravated by the circumstance that a large proportion of the students do not speak the reading language of Amharic. The YDLC primer, however, provides new words with explanatory drawings, and the Teachers' Guide exhorts teachers to translate new material into the student's own language. Furthermore judging from our study of reading achievement in YDLC schools, it appears that even students in the beginning stages have attained a certain reading comprehension. It also worth mentioning that there is a noticeable occurrence of Vernacular and Translation implying explanations in the local language.

There is also a recognizable presence of Whole sentences. Reading of sentences is obviously a way of applying words in larger semantic units. It is well to remember that the YDLC Primer features whole sentences from the very first page.

Sentences to words is an aspect that does not appear at all in the data. A possible explanation is that this aspect is not relevant in YDLC schools. Sentences to words was included because it represents an analytic approach at the sentence level.

The synthetic approach is represented by aspects 1-3; Fidel drill, Features of fidels and Fidels to words.

Fidel drill is the second most frequent single aspect in the Reading Method data. It is a finding which is not surprising when one is aware that it reflects a traditional and presumably widespread pedagogic strategy in Amharic reading teaching. The YDLC Primer for instance, provides ample opportunity for practice with isolated fidels.

Features of fidels is scoring comparatively low. With respect to the way the Amharic alphabet is structured, exercises on graphic similarities and dissimilarities could have been expected to carry considerable didactic value.

Fidels to words represents a key concept of the synthetic method indicating that isolated letters are synthesized into words. Its analytic counterpart is Words to fidels, where words are analyzed on the basis of component letters. It is evident that both types of exercises are practised in observation classrooms. The synthetic variant Fidels to words is in fact twice as frequent in the data.

The account of Reading Method results so far has been concerned primarily with the synthetic/analytic issue, and the attendant subject of how to translate the written code into sounds. In the following we shall acquaint the reader with aspects not directly related to decoding, namely Paragraphs, Grammar, Vernacular and Translation.

It can be inferred from the data that the students were rarely engaged in reading entire Paragraphs of text. Remembering that a large majority of the students were in their first year of reading learning, this particular outcome is to be expected.

The very modest showing of Grammar can presumably also be explained by the fact that most students were in an elementary stage of the learning process.

Vernacular and Translation have roughly equal portions of Reading Method registrations, their combined share amounting to about one fifth. Vernacular as well as Translation are closely linked to the language situation prevailing in the observation schools. It is recalled that in only one observation class did target language coincide with the mother tongue of the students. Put differently, Amharic was a foreign language to most of the observation students. On the strength of what is known about the language situation we would, however, have expected a larger showing of Vernacular and Translation.

Reading Method within observation periods

We shall now proceed to an analysis of what happens within single observation periods, looking for combinations of Reading Method aspects. It can be recalled that each period lasted for three minutes, and that an aspect was recorded as soon as it occurred, regardless of its duration. Consequently, it was possible for more than one aspect to be recorded in the course of one single period. There is, however, no way of assessing the sequence in which the aspects were observed and recorded.

The analysis is restricted to the most frequent aspects within the synthetic/analytic perspective i.e. Fidel drill, Fidels to words, Whole words and Whole sentences.

Table 5.5. Combinations of Reading Method aspects 1, 3, 5 and 8 within single observation periods by number of observation units.

Method aspect	Obs. units N
1, 3, 5, 8	23
1, 5	16
5, 8	9
1, 8	9
3, 5, 8	7
1, 3, 5	6
1, 5, 8	5
1, 3	3
3, 5	2
3, 8	1
1, 3, 8	1
Total	82

Legend:

1 = Fidel drill
3 = Fidels to words
5 = Whole words
8 = Whole sentences.

At the top of the list one finds the combination of all four aspects. The 1, 3, 5, 8 structure is built by both synthetic (Fidel drill, Fidel to words) and analytic (Whole words, Whole sentences) material. A reasonable conclusion is that an eclectic trend is manifested. Examination of aspect triads (1, 3, 5 etc) underscores the eclectic orientation.

In table 5.6 all possible dyads of aspects are shown, even those which are embedded in triads and tetrads.

Table 5.6. Dyadic combinations of Reading Method aspects 1, 3, 5, and 8 within single observation periods by number of observation units.

Method aspects	Obs. units N
1, 3	33
1, 5	50
1, 8	38
3, 5	38
3, 8	32
5, 8	44
Total	235

Legend:

1 = Fidel drill
3 = Fidels to words
5 = Whole words
8 = Whole sentences.

Again the eclectic pattern is visible. One purely synthetic (1, 3) and one purely analytic (5, 8) constellation emerge.

The analysis of Reading Method aspects within observation periods points in the direction of an eclectic approach, combining synthetic and analytic methods.

Distribution of Reading Method aspects

In the following pages, Reading Method is analyzed across observation periods with the intention to examine instructional changes as reading activities follow their course during observation sessions. We shall open with an account of relative frequencies of method aspects, distributed over the ten observation periods. Further on, we shall attempt a comparison of selected aspects.

Relative frequencies of aspect occurrences for each of the ten observation periods and accumulated over the 43 observation sessions are presented in Table 5.7.

Percentage in Table 5.7 represents a quotient between registered occurrences of a certain method aspect during a certain observation period and the number of observation units during the same period. So for instance is the percentage of 37 for Fidel drill in the upper left hand corner arrived at in the following manner: There are 16 registered occurrences of Fidel drill during observation period 1. The corresponding number of observation units is 43. Thus we get $\frac{16}{43}$ = 37 per cent.

Table 5.7. Relative frequencies of Reading Method aspects 1-12 by total number of observation units.

Obs.period	%										
Read. Meth.aspects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N
1. Fidel drill	37	30	31	24	23	28	19	23	13	14	94
2. Features of fidels	9	7	7	10	5	0	3	0	0	0	18
3. Fidels to words	19	16	19	15	13	5	8	9	9	7	47
4. Words to fidels	7	5	5	2	5	5	5	6	3	3	18
5. Whole words	28	33	36	32	28	23	27	20	19	14	101
6. Words to sentences	0	0	2	2	5	5	3	3	3	3	10
7. Sentences to words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. Whole sentences	21	21	24	28	26	13	19	17	16	17	77
9. Paragraphs	5	5	7	5	3	0	3	0	3	3	13
10 Grammar	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
11 Vernacular	12	16	14	12	15	15	14	11	9	10	50
12 Translation	7	12	14	10	13	15	14	11	9	10	44
Total no. Read Meth.asp.	63	64	68	58	53	43	42	34	27	23	475
Total no. Obs. units	43	43	42	41	39	39	37	35	32	29	380

There is a discernible drop in registered reading method apsects during the latter part of observation sessions. This decline is, as we have noticed earlier, related to an underlying decline in the number of observation units. On the other hand is the decrease in recorded method aspects to a certain degree independent of the reduction of observation units, as was also commented upon previously. In other words, activities focussed on oral class instruction in Amharic reading instruction tend to decrease towards the end of observation sessions.

Synthetic and analytic aspects both form a similar pattern of decrease throughout observation sessions. Synthetic aspects however, tend to show a rather steeper descent. These points are illustrated in Figure 5.6.

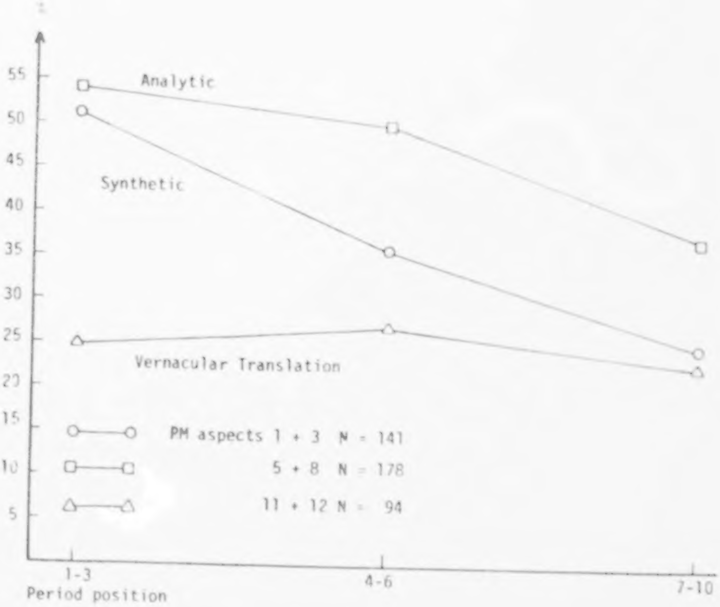

Figure 5.6. Progression of selected Reading Method (RM) aspects across observation periods.

Note: Per cent refers to a quotient between the number of occurrences of a certain method aspect and the total number of observation units.

The synthetic pair of Fidel drill and Fidels to words is strongest at the very beginning of observation sessions and then immediately starts decreasing. The analytic combination of Whole words and Whole sentences, by contrast, manifest a comparatively delayed descent.

The progression over time of the language aspects of Vernacular and Translation relative to synthetic/analytic aspects is also depicted in Figure 5.6. Vernacular and Translation behave differently in the sense that they commence by increasing in frequency and later delineate a slow descent.

Reading material

In the following section reading material used in observation classrooms is treated.

Table 5.8. Primer in use by observation class.

Primer	Observation class N
YDLC	8
Ministry of Education	3
Zemecha	1
Other	1
Not stated	5
Total	18

Primer generally means an elementary textbook for reading instruction. By definition it is the first book which the reading student is confronted with. The YDLC campaign reader is the one most often found in this restricted sample. As could have been expected, it appears exclusively in beginner's classes. Zemecha refers to The Development through Cooperation Campaign which was launched in January 1975. Regarding "Other" there is no reference in the data to any particular book. But the observer has entered the following note on the schedule: "from his memory". This piece of information probably tells us that the teacher did not use a book, because most likely he did not have one, at least not at this occasion. It is also uncertain whether the students were equipped with books. However, the absence of printed texts could have been accidental. The students might have left their books at home or they had perhaps lent them to heir schoolmates. It must be regarded as somewhat surprising that the teacher lacked a textbook. One should of course hesitate to generalize from this single instance. However, we once visited another class where the teacher taught without the aid of a book of his own. When the lesson was over, one of the students commented by saying that "our teacher does not need a book because he has it all in his head".

The information sheet of the Classroom Observation Schedule contains the following remarks pertaining to textbooks:

- Most of the students didn't have the Primer

- Not a single student had a book

- Many students do not seem to have books

- The teachers said that the lack of books posed a great problem. YD used to bring and sell books to the school but that has now ceased.

- Students do not have readers. They do have notebooks and pencils.

- The majority (of the students) didn't have books.

Observation data give the impression of a scarcity of books which rhymes with our overall experience of the campaign. A rough estimate of the presence of books in schools can be obtained by comparing figures of Primer editions and enrolment. By the 1973/74 260 000 copies of the Primer had been printed and up to 1975 about a half million students had been enrolled in the campaign. This crude estimate gives an indication of roughly one book to every two students. But the books are probably unevenly circulated across the campaign with relatively fewer books in distant and hard-to-reach-areas. Such a supposition implies a problem of distribution. Another apparent problem is that some students cannot afford the expense incurred by the purchase of a schoolbook.

Writing activity

Our data reveal that writing is a fairly common activity in observation classrooms. This is also what should be expected since the expressed educational goal for YDLC schools is to impart the skills of reading as well as writing. Even if the focus of the present study is on the teaching of reading it is inconceivable to disregard writing activities, all the more so as writing can be seen as a support to the teaching of reading.

From Table 5.9 we may conclude that writing activities took place in roughly one third of the total observation time.

Table 5.9. Writing Activity by total number of observation units.

Mode of Writing Activity	Total observation units N
Copy from blackboard and chart	106
Copy from Primer	33
Dictation	0
Composition	0
Other	5
No Writing Activity	233
Not stated, not applicable	3
Total	380

Table 5.9 shows that copying is virtually the one and only kind of writing practised during observation sessions. Most of the students' written work is based on material written on the blackboard or - which is occasionally the case - printed on a wall chart. There is no trace of either Dictation or Composition. The dominance of Copying might be attributed to the scarceness of textbooks. It is conceiveable that students copied texts from the blackboard for further reading practice. The absence of Composition is perhaps related to the fact that most students were beginners, and therefore not capable of producing written compositions.

Distribution of Writing Activities

In Table 5.10 reading and writing activities are compared across observation periods.

Table 5.10. Frequency of reading and writing across observation periods.

Obs period		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Total obs units	N	43	43	42	41	39	39	37	35	32	29	380
Writing units	N	9	12	11	14	15	17	18	17	17	14	144
Reading units	N	29	29	31	27	22	21	18	15	12	12	216

Table 5.10 suggests that writing increases across observation periods while reading (RM) decreases. Analysis of schedules which contain both reading and writing activities reveals a tendency for writing to take place towards the later part of observation sessions. Examination of the data has also yielded the information that during a total of 144 periods of writing, there is coincidence with reading in not more than 14 periods. A major portion of the writing practice is consequently separated in time from reading activities.

Writing content

The following table displays the distribution of Writing content.

Table 5.11. Writing content by number of observation units.

Content category	Observation units N
Fidels	30
Words	28
Sentences	21
Paragraphs	18
Not stated, not applicable	47
Total	144

Although the Writing content is quite evenly distributed between the four categories, there is an accent on fidels and words. This is not surprising, since the majority of the participants in the study are in the beginning stages of Amharic literacy instruction.

Homework

Assigning homework to students is a pedagogic practice which is also applied in observation classes. The limited amount of information, however, renders difficult the interpretation of the findings. Eight instances of homework are reported from eight classes at six different schools.

The following types of assignments were given:

- doing exercises from the textbook
- copying from the textbook
- filling in blanks
- combining letters into words
- studying what was written previously
- studying grammar.

Homework obviously broadens the opportunity for learning. But what are the conditions for carrying out given assignments? Is there a reasonably secluded and illuminated space for the student to work with his learning task at home? According to observations from our field visits, the conditions for home based studies are far from promising. There appears to exist a general lack of precisely such facilities as a sheltered place and adequate lighting. On the other hand it is also possible that students are sufficiently motivated as well as inventive enough to overcome obstacles in their milieu.

CLASSROOM PROTOCOLS

The open descriptions in the classroom protocols were intended to supplement the systematic observation study by offering verbal descriptions of the classroom process. The focus of interest was essentially the same as in the observation study, namely to investigate beginning reading teaching methods practised in YDLC schools. Two fairly typical protocols are presented in full in Appendix I. One is a running account and the other is organized in three-minute intervals.

Findings pertaining to reading teaching method are briefly accounted for in the following.

There were twice as many instances of synthetic method than of analytic method. Here are some excerpts attesting to a synthetic method:

> *"The teacher demonstrated the different shapes of the letters on the blackboard. The demonstration was aimed at revealing structures and differences of each letter".*
>
> *"The teacher pointed to chart and made individuals read fidel by fidel in rows and in columns".*

The time-honoured way of teaching Amharic is to make students chant fidels in chorus. There were several examples of this technique, a couple of which are quoted below:

> *"The teacher articulated each letter at a time and the students repeated after him collectively".*
>
> *"Teacher made students repeat after him fidels from chart individually and in chorus".*

As pointed out previously there are fewer indications of the analytic method than there are of the synthetic method. However examples of exercises with whole words are not infrequent.

"The beginners repeat the same word many times".

"Student reads aloud p. 5. Reads each word three times".

Protocol results are on the whole in agreement with those from the systematic observation study. In other words, an eclectic method is manifested, combining synthetic and analytic techniques.

SUMMARY

Regarding Reading Method, synthetic and analytic techniques are applied together and in about equal proportions. The data seem to support the position that an eclectic approach is used in the teaching of reading in observation classrooms. Writing activities increase across observation periods whereas reading tends to decrease.

There is evidence that teachers use vernaculars and translation in their reading instruction, but in view of the fact that Amharic, the reading language, is spoken as first language in only one of the observation classrooms, the frequency of vernacular and translation appears lower than could be expected. Grammar instruction is observed only in a few instances.

Writing occupies about one third of the observation time and seems to be quite a common activity from the very start of literacy training. To copy from the blackboard onto notebooks is the dominating mode of writing activity. The content of the writing exercises shows a preference for fidels and words. Even if most of the writing is done isolated from reading it is probably intended to support reading instruction.

The typical organization pattern for classroom instruction is one when the teacher is involved with the whole class at the same time. There is, however, a tendency for increasing involvement with individuals towards the end of observation sessions.

With regard to background factors school buildings are simple structures built with local materials. A blackboard is virtually the only item of teaching equipment. There is a perceptible scarcity of textbooks. The YDLC Primer is the book which is most often found in observation classrooms. The number of students enrolled per classroom seems lower than corresponding figures for other YDLC schools as well as for other related types of schools. The average attendance is 44 students. The teachers are quite young, mostly men, and have gone to school themselves for an average of about eight years.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The educational goals of the YDLC literacy campaign are essentially to impart the skills of reading and writing. In observation classrooms instruction in reading and writing is given in the course of one and the same lesson, even if the activities are mostly separated in time. Pure writing lessons do occur in both protocol and observation material. The YDLC Teachers' Manual recommends writing apparently to be introduced at the primary phase of the reading process. In our opinion, writing exercises play an important role in aiding the process of learning to read. Consequently, writing should be combined with reading activities. Copying is a dominant mode of writing activity, a circumstance which probably reflects the often noted shortage of textbooks. Thus the copying might serve as a way of duplicating scarce printed texts.

According to the results of the method study accounted for in this chapter, the method applied in reading instruction is of the eclectic variety. It can also be recalled that synthesis and analysis are about equally frequent. An explanation for these findings can be that reading instruction in observation classrooms reflects the methodological approach communicated through printed material, notably the Primer. One can also speculate that when teachers with minimal professional training, or no such schooling at all, resort to intuitive ways of instruction, the result is an eclectic teaching style.

Results from the foregoing account of the literacy achievement study in Chapter 4 indicate that most students are either partially literate or fully literate when they leave school. The classroom observation study is concerned with elementary reading instruction aimed at mastering the connection between printed symbols and corresponding sounds. A certain level of reading achievement was termed "Reading (breaking the code)". Almost half (41%) of the students who had spent 4-8 months at the literacy school passed this level.

A tenable conclusion is that methods employed by YDLC teachers lead to elementary reading ability and with a reasonable expenditure of time.

Regarding reading comprehension it may be recalled from the achievement study that findings indicate that it takes longer time to reach the advanced comprehension level than it takes to learn to break the code. A possible interpretation of these data is that initial emphasis in YDLC reading instruction is on breaking the code. Put differently, reading results reflect a code first rather than a comprehension first approach. It is possible then that the YDLC method has a stronger synthetic orientation than the observation study gives reason to believe. But the data also indicate that the code emphasis does allow for early comprehension. It is then not a question of code or comprehension but of instructional focus.

Different teaching approaches might have different implications with regard to the age of learners. Even if virtually all observation students are children, it seems appropriate to consider to what extent instructional techniques practised in observation classrooms, are suited to the target audience of grown-ups. The previous review of literacy methods implies that the synthetic method with its formal drill of meaningless elements is boring to adult learners and places a heavy burden on memory. The analytic approach on the other hand makes immediate sense to the learners. But there again, it is suggested by reading research that illiterate adults look for letters first, because they find it difficult to memorize sentences.

Even if monotonous exercises might threaten to kill the interest in adult participants, synthetic activities probably facilitate an early establishment of code-breaking skills and ability to cope effectively with new reading material. It is possible that the accent on decoding should be even stronger than evidenced in the observation classes. At the same time, meaningsful material ought to be treated in a parallel manner, much in a way suggested in the YDLC Primer and Manual.

We find it debatable, however, whether there is actually need for radically divergent teaching approaches for children and grown-ups.

YDLC teachers on the whole lack formal professional training. Implications of opinions on instructional methods and qualifications of teachers reported in the foregoing, seem to be that the synthetic method is less dependent on teaching skills than its analytic counterpart. The conclusion we feel inclined to draw is that the synthetic element manifest in observation classrooms is to the advantage of effective instruction.

Instruction of YDLC teachers has been in the form of short courses lasting a few weeks and conducted by local school inspectors. Education of teachers at the local level ought to be intensified. As a means of reaching more teachers, inspectors could gather the staff in connection with school visits, and give short "seminars" on important pedagogic issues e.g. how to make the best use of the Primer.

Typically teaching in observation classrooms was organized in such a way that the teacher was addressing the whole class. This pattern is sometimes known as "frontal teaching". One consequence of frontal teaching is that it makes individualized instruction virtually impracticable. There was, however, a tendency for on the one hand increased writing and on the other hand increased involvement with individuals towards the end of observation sessions. The connection between writing and individualization is probably due to the fact that writing often was practised separated from oral reading instruction, which would have meant that the teacher was able to leave his front-of-the-room position to assist individual students.

Dahllöf (1978) points to the relationship between frontal teaching and a shortage of teaching utensils appropriate for individualized instruction. YDLC classrooms were as a rule characterized by a general scarcity of teaching aids, which made it extremely difficult for teachers to individualize their instruction. But there are also other plausible explanations for the frontal model. We are thinking of the methodology which involves frequent exercises with unison repetitions of letters and words in a traditional manner. In this teaching strategy there seems to be embedded an element of subjugation when students are treated from the teacher's power position. A one-sided synthetic method with a large measure of mechanical drill seems particularly liable to such negative consequences. By and large the teaching situation in YDLC schools seemed to carry the imprint of a vertical subject-object relation between teachers and taught, where dialogue and critical enquiry were absent.

These reflexions lead us to consider the connection between method and content. We are not thinking of content as subject matter on the printed page but rather as the message inherent in the method. It can be argued that what the students learn through the method is to repeat the words of an authority without critical questioning, to conform and to subordinate oneself.

Regarding class-size the number of students in YDLC classrooms is usually high compared with the situation in affluent countries. Reading instruction as reflected in the observation study is generally directed towards the whole class and contains a noticeable component of unison oral drill exercises. These instructional practices appear to represent another favourable adaptation to the realities of the teaching environment. Frontal teaching on the other hand, may be connected with a lack of needed teaching skills as suggested by Dahllöf (1978). To develop the techniques of individual instruction should be given due attention in the professional training of teachers.

A time-honoured means of augmenting teaching resources is to engage advanced students in the instruction of class-mates. The procedure of using so-called monitors is practised in observation classrooms, and it is also recommended by the YDLC Teachers' Manual. We regard the monitor system as highly profitable in the YDLC context.

There is evidently an insufficient supply of primers in observation as well as in other YDLC classrooms. Primers constitute, broadly speaking, a key asset in reading instruction. The dependence on textbooks seems more accentuated in schools which are served by teachers lacking in professional training. The YDLC primer embodies a didactic structure, which conceivably is of great help to the teachers. The accompanying Teachers' Manual also deserves wide circulation. The shortness of books is probably to a considerable extent due to problems of distribution. Making book distribution more efficient is a matter that is worthy of top priority on the part of responsible campaign workers at every level.

A blackboard was practically the single item of teaching equipment in observation classrooms. The blackboard stands out as a crucial resource factor in schools of the YDLC type. Among other functions, as we have just seen, it probably replaces non-existing textbooks. No effort should be shied in order to provide schools with the essential tools of blackboards and chalks. Blackboards could, as we were able to witness, be manufactured locally, thereby solving problems of transportation from distant metropoles.

The differential value of methodological approaches in the YDLC context has been touched upon in other sections of the discussion. A few reflections will nevertheless be added.

Amharic, the literacy language in YDLC schools, is a predominantly "phonic" language in the sense that there is a predictable correspondence between symbols and sounds. There exist, however, important exceptions from this rule represented by the sixth form, known as the "sadis", in the Amharic table of syllables. Pronounciation of the "sadis" is not consistent, and a given "sadis" letter is pronounced differently from word to word. The reading pedagogue is therefore faced with a dilemma. The phonetic nature of Amharic suggests a synthetic method, whereas the "sadis" complication would call for an analytic whole-word approach (cf. Cotterell, 1973). The obvious, if simplistic solution to this predicament would be to employ an eclectic method, which observation teachers in fact do.

Speaking against an analytic reading approach is the circumstance that the better part of the YDLC participants are unfamiliar with the reading language of Amharic. With an analytic teaching style, words are perceived and read as global units. It would seem, however, that an analytic mode of dealing with new words requires that the semantic content is known beforehand. It is likely that an analytic reading technique poses specific problems to YDLC students, since they do not receive any clues from the known meaning of words. On the other hand is it true that the YDLC Primer features explanatory drawings, and the systematic observations demonstrate that teachers resorted to translation into the local language.

An important lesson from a study of reading theory is that there is no one best method which should be employed exclusively and universally. It seems to us that the teaching procedure in our sample of YDLC schools is based on the one hand the way teachers learnt to read themselves, and on the other hand the methodology inherent in the Primer. The teacher's personal learning experience probably bears the imprint of traditional synthetically oriented methods, whereas the primer reflects a modern (analytic) approach. Even if the resulting methodology is influenced by modern techniques, it is likely to rest on a solid ground of Ethiopian reading tradition. Improvements on this particular teaching model can probably be accomplished. It is possible that a stronger emphasis on the synthetic element in the beginning stages of reading instruction in YDLC classrooms might facilitate early mastery of the correspondence between symbols and sounds.

Chapter 6

A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

As we have seen in Chapter 1, at the time the literacy campaign started, it was more or less taken for granted that literacy was necessary for the development of rural areas. For example, a large percentage of the population should be literate in order to receive information about agricultural techniques and health care. Further, literate workers were needed to speed up the process of industrialization. Recruiting workers from the rural population would be tapping a reserve of manpower (Lewis, 1971).

This was the point of departure for our interview study. We wanted to find out whether literacy as a skill had been instrumental in developing the school villages and whether literacy brought any tangible benefits to the neo-literates.

We decided to conduct an interview study for several reasons. First of all at that time little official statistical information was available at awraja and worreda levels concerning socio-economic factors. Nothing at all existed at village level. We were also of the opinion that the most reliable source of information about the benefits of literacy ought to be the people themselves.

Purpose

The purpose of the interview study, conducted between October 1975 and April 1976, was:

- to identify factors conducive to enrolment in the literacy Campaign

- to identify reasons for low female participation

A. A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND FOR THE METHOD OF INTERVIEWING

The relevance of cross-cultural interview studies

Much has been written about the pitfalls awaiting researchers who use interviews as a means of obtaining information in developing countries and foreign cultures. (See for instance Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike (1973). Cultural differences in terms of the variety of ethnic groups in many developing countries, as well as linguistic and semantic problems are some of the difficulties. These and other methodological problems in the case of Ethiopia have been discussed by Pausewang (1973). Among other things he stresses the necessity for the researcher to be familiar with the culture in which the work is to be carried out. Pausewang also points out the need of new methodological approaches for social research involving developing countries.

Additional problems on the methods side include faulty sampling techniques, deficiencies in the training of interviewers, and differences in social status between interviewer and respondent. These aspects have been thoroughly discussed by Brislin et al. (1973) and Kahn & Cannel (1953) among others.

When presenting the above objections against using interview studies it is necessary to ask: "Why is it that this technique is used so often?" The reason is as obvious as the objections; there are advantages that appear greater than the disadvantages in many instances. Kerlinger states:

> *"The best instrument available for sounding people's behavior, future intentions, feelings, attitudes and reason for behavior would seem to be the structured interview coupled with an interview schedule that includes open-end, closed, and scale items"* (Kerlinger 1965, p. 476).

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It is often the most useful method to elicit and quantify the opinions, feelings and intentions of a specific group of individuals on certain issues. This is also borne out by Pausewang (1973) in his discussion of relevant methodological approaches for research in Ethiopia.

An alternative to locally conducted interview studies is to use self-administered questionnaires sent by mail or to try telephone interviews. Unfortunately in the rural setting where our study was conducted, no telephones were available. Since the majority of our respondents were illiterate, the mailed questionnaire was out of the question, too. Further, the postal system did not cover distant rural areas.

Bias as a source of error

It is obvious that many of the above obstacles can emerge in such a study as ours. The linguistic picture, for instance is very complicated. Various biases are bound to interfere with the reliability of the results. Brislin et al. (1973), Inkeles & Smith (1974) and Kahn & Cannel (1959) among others have written at length about the concept of bias. Biases to be discussed here are "clinical witnesses bias" (the presence of people other than the interviewee), "courtesy bias", "social desirability bias" and the "status difference bias".

In some cultures it is nearly impossible to spend one hour alone with the interviewee. Neighbours tend to be extremely curious about what is going on between the interviewer and his respondent. One way of solving the problem of the clinical witnesses bias may be to invite a whole group of people to take part in the interview. This strategy may be better than risking that the sole respondent feels alarmed about his being singled out. He may even fear punishment afterwards. It might be easier for the respondent to express the true opinion of his community on a certain issue if he can have immediate corroboration from his fellows. There is the risk, however, that a respondent may not dare to give his own true opinion, if he knows that it differs from the opinion of the majority.

In many cultures respondents tend to give the answers they believe are most appreciated by the interviewer. This courtesy bias may be reduced by proper wording of questions, indicating that it is acceptable to have differing opinions on an issue (Inkeles & Smith, 1974).

Related to the courtesy bias is the social desirability bias. It is a well-known phenomenon that some respondents want to maintain a positive image by answering all questions in a way that indicates that they are well-informed and educated persons (Brislin et al., 1973; Inkeles & Smith, 1974). This bias may be eliminated by probing techniques.

It is not uncommon that the interviewer is of higher social standing than the respondent. Considerable tact and understanding on the part of the interviewer may be required to counteract this bias of status difference. The interviewer himself may be biased to present the attitudes and ambitions of his respondents in as favourable a light as possible and thus be tempted to interpret answers too positively.

One may draw a few conclusions from the above points. Interviews with open-ended questions should be followed up by probing questions. The interviewer's skill in probing techniques is of crucial importance in a study like the present. It is necessary for a researcher to know how members of a particular culture will react to his research procedure. Therefore the interviewer must be familiar with the culture. It is also important that he is well acquainted with the milieu where he is to work. He must comprehend the contents of his interview schedule in a way which makes it possible for him to rephrase questions if the respondent does not understand them.

B. METHOD

Sample

149 individuals were interviewed, out of whom 83 were students in campaign schools (PP) and thereby part of the main sample presented on pp. 83-88. The remaining 66 respondents were adult inhabitants of the school villages. Adults have been labelled as individuals aged 15 and above. It was not possible to make a random sampling of the adult respondents, since many villagers lived at a considerable distance from the school. The interviewees were selected from individuals who could be reached during the daytime or in the evening by members of the team living in the school compound.

Sixty-three of the 83 students (PP), selected for interviewing were 10 years old or older. Three of the students interviewed did not state their ages. In two schools the respondents were randomly selected from the main sample. In the remaining five schools all of the older sample students present were interviewed.

Special efforts were made to include as many female respondents as possible, since one of the main objectives of the interview study was to find out reasons for low female participation in the campaign. Finally we found 14 adult female respondents in the villages. Among the literacy students who were interviewed, 14 were girls.

Table 6.1 Distribution of respondents by school.

	No of respondents					
School/ village	PP Illiterate	Literate	Adults Illiterate	Literate	Total	(Female)
1.1	6	-	7	2	15	(4)
1.2	6	8	5	8	27	(2)
2.1	1	12	3	3	19	(5)
2.2	-	15	6	3	24	-
3.1 1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.2	4	11	-	-	15	(8)
4.1	10	2	18	4	34	(5)
4.2	6	2	7	-	15	(4)
Total	33	50	46	20	149	(28)

Legend: PP = participants in the literacy campaign.

1) School 3.1 had closed by the time the interviews were conducted.

Among the adult village population we had previously identified four different groups. A separate interview schedule was designed for each group:

1. Former Participants in the literacy campaign (FP)

2. Drop-Outs from campaign schools (DO)

3. Non-Participants (NP) - young individuals who had not attended school although they lived close by, and finally

4. People in the Milieu (PM), defined as adults living in the village who did not fit any other category for adults.

The 66 adult respondents were distributed among the categories in the following way:

41 PM
12 FP
9 DO
4 NP.

Instruments and procedure

Exploratory interviews were conducted in Dessie and Gidole areas in May - June 1975. Themes and topics were then discussed with men and women in the villages. Research objectives provided a general framework for the drafting process.

Interview schedules were revised twice after try out sessions in two villages, which were matched with research areas on such points as language, type of school, equipment, teachers and locality.

Concerning the interview language schedules were intended for a multilingual sample and this complicated the construction of the instruments. It is possible to conceive of various solutions to the problems caused by this fact, namely:

- To prepare an edition for each language involved in the survey. The advantages are obvious and so are the drawbacks. Rendering the item texts into half a dozen tongues was hardly within the means of the team's resources of time and personnel.
- To draft the questions in English - the team's working language - and then make a translation into Amharic, which was the target language for the literacy work. It should be pointed out that Amharic is a language characterized by ambiguity of meaning, making translation an intricate task (Levine, 1972). We would still be unable to communicate with a large number of respondents without interpreters, even if the forms were translated into Amharic.

- To draw up interview schedules in English and then make an oral translation when the interview was conducted.

The team decided on the last alternative for the following reasons. The interviews would be conducted exclusively by the evaluation crew, the main load carried out by the two nationals. Thus the text would be familiar to the interviewers and they could be expected to transpose the questions with ease and accuracy into Amharic and Oromo, the dominant languages in our research areas. By this strategy another pitfall was avoided; that is, presenting the items in the respondent's language in written form with vocabulary and structures so formal and academic as to hamper communication. The same problem is discussed by Inkeles & Smith (1974). We were dealing mainly with respondents with little or no formal education, and this made it imperative for the interviewer to phrase his questions in simple words. The team deemed it easier to achieve this goal if the questions were extemporized in Amharic or Oromo from an English text.

In cases where the interviews were conducted by the expatriate interviewers, translations would have to be made from English to the language of the interviewee anyway via an interpreter. The Ethiopian interviewers would also have to resort to intermediaries in some instances. Having the questions and answers in English would also facilitate the data treatment, since it was planned that this process would take place outside Ethiopia.

The strategy of using English as a medium for the interviewing procedure was likely to have certain consequences for the interpretation of data. The interviewer might have done a bad job translating questions in the interview situation. On the other hand it was reasonable to assume that he would be able to rephrase the questions with ease, since he had a lot of practice during the trial sessions and the field work. The rephrasing of answers into English might have been a more serious obstacle, since the interviewer's or the interpreter's knowledge of English might not have been sufficient to translate responses correctly. There was also a risk that the wording in English would become too stark, with too few shades of meaning. Important information might be lost for these reasons.

The current researchers analyzed the methodological problems caused by the cultural setting and took the following measures to meet the specific problems identified.

Two of the four members of the research team were nationals. All team members took part in constructing the interview schedules and in planning and implementing the two trial sessions. The team had made several visits previously to the villages where the interviews were to be conducted. The inhabitants of the villages were familiar with our interest in the literacy school and accepted our presence there.

Most of the interviews were done by the two Ethiopian team members. They could usually conduct an interview without the aid of an interpreter, since between them they spoke three of the major Ethiopian languages. In the province of Gamu Gofa, howver, where part of the study was conducted, the linguistic picture was very complicated. There the assistance of a local interpreter was necessary.

The interview questions were designed to assist us in studying expectations and attitudes, describe what kind of school the people in a certain village wanted, what benefits they expected and what hindrances one could anticipate.

Three different interview schedules were constructed (Appendix D, E and F). The study was conducted in 1975 - 1976, about one year after the revolution. New political ideas and practices had spread into the provinces, which meant that to a certain extent the lives of ordinary people were affected. For example, the land reform had been proclaimed, and the process of organizing the Peasant Associations (PA) was in full swing.

C. THE EFFECTS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMPAIGN

The issue of motivation

Since the literacy campaign (YDLC) had experienced some difficulty in reaching the target group of young adults aged 12-25, some of the key issues for our study were those factors which played a role in people's motivation to become literate. Pertinent questions which the study attempted to answer were:

- What kind of knowledge do people need to survive in the village?

- What kind of benefits do people expect from schooling?

- What actual benefits do people experience from schooling?

- What is the role of traditional attitudes in relation to motivation for becoming literate?

- Do people wish to stay in the rural environment or do they want to move to towns?

- Do villagers really need a school?

- What kind of problems are common to most villages?

The milieu in the present context is defined as the village where the interviewee lives. Each village has its own ethnic, geographical, cultural, economic and social conditions.

Milieu factors which may influence people's wish to attend school or to send their own children to school are included in the concept of Motivation in the present context. The point of departure is taken in the actual needs perceived by the people in the villages. There are functional needs, for instance such as to learn better farming methods. Social needs might include the ability to sign one's own name or read and write letters. A person might feel a strong wish to better his own position by securing a higher job. There are economic needs. Finally, political or religious forces might provide the ambition to become literate.

The interview study was designed to focus on the individual's own perspective. Nevertheless, some conclusions could also be formed about community needs in instances where there was a significant degree of conformity in responses from a certain village or from several villages.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Sixty-three of the 83 students selected for interviewing were 10 years old or older. Out of these, 12 were young adults, 15-25 years old. When presenting the data, no attempt has been made to differentiate between responses from students and adults. A word of explanation is therefore required.

A preliminary treatment of the data at individual level showed small differences between students and adults regarding questions given to both categories. A tendency for children to give similar answers as the adults may be explained by the fact that youngsters are much influenced by the elders' opinions. During the informal training to which all children are exposed in traditional societies, they learn to accept the behavioural and attitudinal norms prevalent in their community. A young person is not supposed to question the opinion of the elders. This has been shown for instance by Levine (1972) in his study of the Amhara culture. A reasonable conclusion is that children mirror the opinions of their parents. Children do differ from adults on attitudes and expectations concerning their own future. In general, children have greater expectations and look forward to more social benefits than what is expressed by adults. An explanation may be that students have limitied experience of the world outside the village and therefore have unrealistic expectations. Another difference is that children more often than adults indicate that they do not know the answer to a question.

We have previously mentioned that four different groups of adults were represented in the interview sample (see p.194). But since we were able to establish contact with comparatively few DO, NP and FP in each village and their responses did not differ noticeably from those of the PM category, responses from all categories of adults are presented together.

The responses differed with respect to views on education for adults and children. The Campaign leaders had found from experience that people were usually more inclined to send their children to school than attend classes themselves. This fact had been noted as an indication of the Campaign's failure to reach the target group, young adults aged 15-25. Therefore we found it necessary to pay special attention to this aspect of motivation for becoming literate.

During the analysis we looked for answers to the following questions:

Do people perceive different obstacles to and benefits from education for children compared to adults?

If yes, how do they describe the differences?

When talking to villagers we perceived that religious factors played a certain motivating role for becoming literate. The same phenomenon had been reported by Singh (1973) from Arussi and Sidamo. We wanted to compare the strength of this factor to other relevant motivational factors.

Inclination to accept changes in the village and in the society at large and willingness to work for such changes were considered by us as other important features of the issue of Motivation for becoming literate. This is also borne out by Inkeles & Smith (1974).

All responses to interview questions on Motivation were thus assigned to one of the following main categories:

I Obstacles for adults in attending Literacy School

II Expected benefits for adults as a result of education in Literacy School

III Obstacles for children in attending Literacy School

IV Expected benefits for children as a result of education in Literacy School

V Expected religious benefits of education in Literacy School

VI Acceptance of changes in society

The full answer to one interview question could contain several different types of responses. A total of 1943 responses was registered. 58 typical responses could be identified and these were assigned to the six main categories.

RESULTS

Expected benefits and obstacles

As can be seen from table 6.2 most of the responses deal with benefits and obstacles affecting children. 40% of the responses describe benefits for children as a result of schooling. Many people seem to be positive about the concept of children's education. Rural education is one of the ideas engendered by the revolution, which might be easier to apply to children than to adults. The often expressed opinion that "it is too late for me, but my son may go to school" may be a proper illustration of the way many adults perceive their own situation.

Table 6.2. Distribution of responses on Motivation by categories.

Category		No	%
I	Obstacles, adults	147	8
II	Expected benefits, adults	319	16
III	Obstacles, children	534	27
IV	Expected benefits, children	776	40
V	Expected religious benefits	91	5
VI	Acceptance of changes in society	76	4
		1943	100

Table 6.2 presents the distribution of responses from all villages. It is interesting to see how the villages deviate from each other in distribution of responses on categories I-VI. Table 6.3 will give us information on this point.

Table 6.3. Relative distribution of responses on Motivation for each village and category.

Category		1.1 (242)	1.2 (360)	2.1 (239)	2.2 (300)	3.2 (129)	4.1 (476)	4.2 (197)	Total (1943)
I	Obstacles, adults	9	7	5	7	1	10	10	8
II	Exp. benefits, adults	17	22	16	15	1	16	21	16
III	Obstacles, children	23	29	32	26	32	25	31	27
IV	Exp. benefits, children	41	30	40	43	60	41	35	40
V	Exp. rel. benefits	7	7	4	5	5	3	0	5
IV	Acceptance of changes	3	5	3	4	1	5	3	4
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Village 3.2 differs from the others in most categories. This can be explained by the fact that only students were interviewed there. Most of the questions asked dealt with the situation of students. All other villages show a striking similarity in distribution of responses.

The most frequent typical responses in the material are presented in table 6.4.

Table 6.4. Highly frequent responses from all villages. N=1943.

Category	Response	No
IV	Children could become teachers, nurses etc, or learn a trade	183
III	Children have got to work in the house or in the field instead of going to school	173
IV	They (I) can continue their (my) studies at another school	171
IV	Children ought to have at least 6 years of schooling	165
III	The children have no clothes, no money for books or school fees	103
		795

The five typical responses above account for more than 40% of the total number of statements in the material. Responses imply that children will have to leave their village in order to get the schooling desired.

In order to show where the emphasis on a debate for or against education lies, a set of tables is presented in which highly frequent responses on categories are listed (Tables 6.5-6.8). A number of quotations are presented in order to give a concrete picture of what is regarded as an obstacle or a benefit.

Table 6.5. Highly frequent responses for category I Obstacles adults, from all villages.

Response	No	%
There is/was no school in my village	35	24
Parents must work hard for food otherwise the family will starve	24	16
Total number of 12 low frequent responses	88	60
	147	100

"It is too late for us to go to school and I don't think that our brains are good enough for learning. We must work on our farms and send our children to school" (1.1.527, Female, Illiterate, 50 years).

"We work from morning up to seven in the evening. When we get back home we have to tie up the animals and do many other chores. After all the work there is no time and energy to learn" (2.2.526, Male, Literate, 26 years).

"When people become older education is less important. People see no hope of improving their life after the age of 45" (4.1.517, Male, Illiterate, 23 years).

It should be noted that 8% of all responses in category I express the opinion that "We do not learn anything useful at school" and 7% relate that "I have not experienced any benefits from my going to school".

"I have not experienced any benefits at all - what I studied was reading and writing. After leaving school I relapsed into illiteracy" (4.1.205, Male, Illiterate, 19 years).

Comments on benefits from several respondents in Wollo:

"I have been reading letters which came from my friends in Addis Ababa".

"I have learnt to keep myself clean".

"I have been writing my name when needed".

"It did not benefit me in any way".

"I have had no benefits from going to school. I did not stay long at school. While I was attending school my father died. There was no other person who could take over my father's work, so I had to do that to help my family" (4.2.206, Male, Literate, 20 years).

"It would not be of much use for me to go to school, because I cannot get a job at my age. The only use would be to be able to read and write. A man who hasn't been to school cannot defend himself by reading and writing, when there is a /court/ case that concerns him" (4.1.504, Male, Illiterate, 37 years).

At this point, it should be explained that land disputes were common before the land reform in 1975. Very often illiterates were not treated fairly in court.

In Table 6.6 the village people's expectations regarding the benefits of attending literacy school are presented.

Table 6.6. Highly frequent responses on category II Expected benefits adults, from all villages.

Response	No	%
He can read and write his own letters, sign his name, knows Amharic	90	28
He will become educated, get knowledge	47	15
If I had been able to go to school I might have become a teacher for instance, I would have earned money	36	11
Total number of 6 low frequent responses	146	46
	319	100

"If a person knows how to read and write - let us say a farmer - he can sell his products according to the most favourable market prices. He can calculate his loss and gain. An illiterate person can survive with the rest of the people - but he cannot think clearly or he cannot solve his problems as the educated man can do" (2.2.524. Male, Literate, 28 years).

"They /people who do not go to school/ lose something deep and profound: that is that they are in no way able to reason as the educated persons do. They are handicapped" (2.1.507, Male, Literate, 46 years).

"A person who has not been to school cannot even read the letters his friends send him. He does not know the number of the bus or bedroom if he goes away from his village" (4.1.532, Male, Illiterate, 22 years).

The concepts of "education" and "knowledge" deserve a few comments. It is obvious from the interview material that many individuals experienced difficulties in specifying the benefits of education.

A general positive attitude to "education" is discernible in all villages. It is desirable to become a student, children should go to school, there is "value" in education. But rarely are people able to express in concrete terms the meaning they put into these phrases. When one asks people who have attended school at an earlier stage and are now working in the village, about benefits they have experienced, very often the answer is: "None at all".

We must reflect on the reason for such apparently contradictory attitudes.

Can the explanation be that in spite of the fact that the school is run and administered by the villagers themselves it is still a strange and outlandish phenomenon, which people in general do not know how to use? We must consider in whose interest the school is working and who it was that initiated it. Were they spokesmen for the whole community? It is necessary that the school is perceived as a concern of the whole community.

Maybe it is the content of education that is to blame. The most widely used book in campaign schools is the Primer, which on the whole contains no concrete subject matter but rather disconnected fragments of text. People in the villages do not seem to be able to express what particular knowledge they want to obtain in school. It may well be that an illiterate community

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needs much time and practice before it can formulate guiding principles for their own education. The crucial point has to be what needs the village people perceive in their own surroundings.

Let us turn to to Tables 6.7 and 6.8 which present obstacles and expected benefits for children, to find out if we get the same reaction here.

Table 6.7. Highly frequent responses on category III Obstacles children, from all villages.

Responses	No	%
Children have got to work in the field or in the house instead of going to school	173	32
The children have no clothes, or they have no money for books, school fees etc.	103	19
The children are lazy, they fail their examinations, they are punished in school	68	13
Parents do not send their children to school because they are ignorant, uneducated, do not perceive any value in education	61	12
Total number of 7 low frequent responses	129	24
	534	100

"Parents did not have a feeling for education before, but now the Peasant Association has ordered people to run a school and send their children there" (4.1.516, Male, Illiterate, 60 years).

Table 6.8. Highly frequent responses on category IV Expected benefits children, from all villages.

Responses	No	%
They could become teachers, nurses etc, or learn a trade	183	24
They could continue their studies at another school	171	22
Children ought to have at least 6 years of schooling	165	21
Total number of 12 low frequent responses	257	33
	776	100

As can be seen there is a strong tendency to stress the value of education in itself without specifying the outcome.

Comparatively few responses suggest that the student should move to a town or a city in order to find a job. But opportunities for getting alternative work to farming are minimal in most village settings. Hence the ambition to let children study for at least six years probably expresses another kind of expectations. Parents believe that education will help their children to an easier and more comfortable life than that which the parents have experienced themselves. They cannot visualize how to reach this goal, but somehow "education" and "knowledge" are the keys to success. This may indicate a "modern" attitude to the future of children. According to Inkeles & Smith (1974) modern man places high value on skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic. Occasionally, respondents pointed out that an educated child can give economic aid to his or her parents later on.

"A girl who has been to school could learn to nurse her baby, clean the house and so on. She would be able to take better care of her house and family. It will hurt people not to go to school, it is a disadvantage. An uneducated person is a slave. He is ignored by others" (4.1.505, Female, Illiterate, Adult, age not stated).

"The father should send his son to school no matter what. I chose this answer because I have learnt from my own experience. If my parents had sent me to school and supported me there I would have got better education and a better life. People who have not been to school cannot read newspapers, listen to the radio and become conscious. People who are not educated can be fooled by anyone and face destruction" (4.1.509, Male, Literate, 29 years).

"We have been ignorant, exploited, and have been inferior because we haven't got education, but our children shouldn't be like us" (1.1.528, Male, Illiterate, 50 years).

In a study by Bergman (1971) the same phenomenon was noticed. She asked farmers and tenants whether they thought it was important to send their children to school. The answers she got mirror the opinion that knowledge is important and that education will help people to obtain good jobs and have an easier life, but these views are stated in a vague and general way. The Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Project in Ethiopia, WOALP, reports the same kind of attitudes in its Final Evaluation Report (Singh, 1973).

Seventy of the 149 respondents were literate. There is no marked difference in responses between literates and illiterates. The ideas of benefits do not differ. Nor can the literate students give better reasons for attending school than illiterate adults.

The discussion above covers responses within the four categories dealing with obstacles and benefits for children and adults respectively. The number of responses falling under the two remaining categories is comparatively small.

Expected religious benefits include first and foremost, to be able to read religious books and to obtain religious knowledge and wisdom.

When asked whether they preferred to read books with a functional content, for instance about better farming methods or how to take care of one's health, or books with a religious content, 82 respondents from all villages stated they preferred to read books with a functional content.

Sixty-seven respondents stated that they preferred reading religious literature such as the Koran or the Bible.

"The people who have learnt to read can read the Bible to become wiser and also read other books which are useful. But here we are farmers. If farmers go to school they do not want to work on the land" (1.1.534, Female, Illiterate, 17 years).

It is conceivable that many villagers have never seen books about farming or nutrition, while there probably are at least a few religious books in each village. However, there is evidence of a fairly strong religious-oriented motivation in the villages, which seems to be correlated with status factors.

Asked whether they had read any other books than school books most individuals answered in the negative. The exceptions were mostly people who had bought or been given books by the missionaries in the area, or else had friends from whom they could borrow books. As a rule few books were available in the villages.

Out of 76 responses within category VI, Acceptance of changes in society, only one third stated that an educated boy should stay in his village and try to improve his environment. Thirty-four gave the opinion that a son should have a better job than his father.

"A son must try to find a better kind of job than his father. It does not matter what the job is, but it should be an improvement. If the father is a farmer, the son could become a farmer too, but he must improve and enlarge the farm his father had" (2.2.502, Male, Illiterate, 45 years).

Language

Most students in literacy schools did not have Amharic as their first language (see Table 3.4, p. 86). Consequently they have to learn to read in a foreign language, since all textbooks were in Amharic. A majority of adults and students alike stated that they wanted to learn Amharic. In the Wollega villages many students would have preferred to start reading in their own language. However, they insisted that it was necessary to know Amharic since all governmental business was conducted in that language. It was regarded as the language for individuals who wanted to promote their own careers.

It should also be pointed out that reading materials available in Ethiopia during this period were, with few exceptions, printed in Amharic.

Few persons claimed that they had ever taught someone else to read and write, although almost everyone was positive about the idea.

Summary of results

Through the analysis of interview data an attempt has been made to answer the questions posed on p. 198 in this Chapter.

The knowledge which is necessary for people living in the villages is described in concrete terms in the individual responses. People must know how to work the land and look after cattle in order to produce sufficient food. It is necessary to know how to run a household. People must also know how to look after their health. The ability to read and write is seldom mentioned in this context.

The expected benefits of schooling are less well defined. People expect to learn to read and write Amharic, especially their own letters. Young people expect to become teachers or nurses, or to be able to continue their studies at another school. Often a wish is expressed to "get knowledge" or to become "educated". This seems desirable although people cannot define the specific benefits that will follow. The status aspect is stressed by young and old alike.

The *benefits actually experienced* by people are the following. They have learnt to read and write Amharic and to sign their own names. They can read and write their own letters. Sometimes a successful student has been able to obtain and read books about farming, or health and hygiene, or religious books.

From the total interview material a picture of the role of *traditional attitudes* emerges. They seem to be related to experience or non-experience of changes. Conservatism as a cause of negative attitudes to the literacy school seems to be related to traditional attitudes. Very often there is a strong element of "common sense" in the traditional attitudes. They are based on accumulated experiences from the milieu. But on the whole, traditional attitudes do not appear to be a large obstacle to rural education.

Young people want to continue their schooling, which probably means that they will have to *leave the village*. No clear trend emerges about older people's attitude to leaving the village and getting a job in town.

People want to have a school in the village although it is hard for them to account for this wish. Do they really *need* a school? Yes, in our opinion they do need the school, provided the school offers knowledge and skills that are relevant in the village.

In all villages people pointed out that lack of food, draught, ill health, lack of sanitation facilities, lack of roads and clinics were *serious problems*. As we see it education in rural areas should be designed to assist in dealing with such problems.

DISCUSSION

The starting point for the analysis of interview data has been actual needs as perceived by people living in the villages.

Two different kinds of responses appeared in the interview material. In the first category, emphasis was on daily life in a village. Down to earth situations were described, where material needs stood out. Individuals gave their views on the potentiality of the literacy school to assist people in satisfying their perceived material needs. From their description emerged the kind of problems on which developmentalists and international organizations have focussed their efforts during most recent decades.

The second category of responses illustrated a different perspective on the village life situation, where the influence of the ethnic setting on individual views about education was apparent. Positive answers were often connected with the expression "the value of education". "Value" in this context does not indicate material value. Negative views were also expressed, indicating that respondents were not questioning traditional rules guiding their behaviour. The latter kind of answers often mirrored fear or dislike of changes in the environment.

It is not possible to discuss schooling in a traditional society without considering the concept of "tradition". In some instances the traditional attitude might be at variance with the tendency to accept changes or innovations in a village. The question thereby becomes: to what extent are desirable changes in village life restricted by tradition? How can these two factors be balanced? A starting point might be to try to establish how greatly traditional attitudes influence the way individuals perceive the benefits of literacy. The optimum condition would seem to be that individuals are prepared to accept such changes only, which do not overturn the traditional way of living to such an extent that people become alienated.

It is sometimes difficult for people to understand changes because their "world" is limited to the traditional society as represented by their own village. Changes are introduced when there are attempts to solve actual problems by innovative means. This poses questions which have not earlier been actualized in the village. The phrase "I don't know" is not in the first place to be understood as a sign of ignorance, but rather as a cultural declaration: "This is something that is outside my experience". It does not mean that individuals are negative to changes, rather that they cannot visualize the effects of the proposed changes. "Nobody has done this before in my village" is not in the first place an argument against a new idea, but a plea for giving people time to formulate their own suggestions.

Some of the responses to interview questions exemplify situations where the school becomes an agent for fulfilling perceived needs or is believed to be such an agent.

This is the optimistic perspective of schooling. Many other responses express a pessimistic view regarding possibilities for the literacy school to bring about any real improvement in the life situation of the villagers. Occasionally individual responses describe personal experiences of a negative character. Others state physical obstacles for attending school. The above negative responses do not necessarily express a general negative attitude towards schooling but rather the necessity of support from external agencies, or collective efforts to overcome the problems.

Clearly there is a scepticism about the powers of the literacy school to lend immediate assistance in the hardships of the daily life. People are less reluctant to believe that the school may become a means of help to reach more long range goals of the villagers. In every village there are communal goals, illustrated by the general problems stated by many inhabitants during the interviews. In order to reach these goals, certain knowledge and skills are required, and the school could probably offer them.

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It should be noticed that individuals in our villages conform to some of the criteria presented by Inkeles & Smith (1974) for the concept of "modern man". The very existence of a literacy school in a village is such an index, since it presupposes that at least a few individuals in each village have taken the initiative to establish a school. Another such index is the fact that villagers, who themselves are resigned to the fate of continous arduous labour on the land often state that "my son must choose for himself". Such statements may indicate that the speakers are changing from the paternalistic attitude which has previously dominated rural societies.

We conclude that the people living in the research villages do not wish for a drastic modernizational process in their area. They would rather work on the task of improving the material and social situation in their village in terms of better produce from the land and better local service, such as roads, clinics and schools. It will certainly be necessary to assist them in this development process, but the activities should be initiated by the village inhabitants as a result of collectively experienced needs.

D. ATTITUDES TO FEMALE EDUCATION

Introduction

The Western-oriented methodology of surveys and other research in rural areas of developing countries has been instrumental in hiding the large input of work done by women. Thus women often appear in official statistics or reports under the labels of "farmers' wives" or "dependents" (Rogers, 1980). An outstanding example of the way women are made invisible in research is the study of Inkeles & Smith (1974) of how man becomes modern. The sample is made up exclusively of men from the six countries of their study. The omission of 50 per cent of the population in a study proposing to explain the modernization process in society should be considered a serious shortcoming indeed.

On the other hand, for us it has become important to show how the Campaign has catered to the needs of rural women. We therefore decided to treat interview data dealing with female participation in the Campaign separately from the rest of the material. Through this process we have tried to identify prevailing attitudes about education for rural women.

The often documented fact that there are more boys than girls attending school in developing countries is also valid for Ethiopia. Official statistics show that out of all students in Ethiopia, 69% are male and 31% female (Central Statistical Office, 1976 a). Corresponding figures for Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign are 77% male and 23% female.

An attempt was made to find out reasons why female participation in the literacy campaign was so low, and what the attitudes were toward female education in rural settings. We interviewed 149 individuals in seven villages in Wollo, Wollega, Shoa and Gamu Gofa. The sample is described on pp. 193-195. Instruments and procedure for the study are introduced on pp. 195-198.

The issue of Female Participation

Discussions of female education in Ethiopia often mention the role of tradition in the rural society. It should be advantageous to the educational debate if the meaning of this concept is clarified. Pertinent questions which our study attempts to answer are:

- What is the substance of "traditional attitudes" in this context?

- What is the reason most frequently stated for not sending girls or women to school?

- What knowledge and skills are most urgently required for a girl or a woman in an Ethiopian village? Can she get these at the literacy school?

One of our assumptions was that village people might feel that since most of a woman's life is spent in performing household tasks, it is a waste of time and money to let her study subjects outside this domain. Another reason for the lack of interest in female education could be that the society on the whole has a low opinion of women and women's capacity.

RESULTS

Female education - benefits and obstacles

All responses to interview questions about Female Participation were categorized according to a schedule of five main categories. Both negative and positive responses were taken into account. The categories are:

- Marriage (M)
- Necessity of working at home, financial problems (W)
- Usefulness of schooling, benefits for girls (U)
- Traditional attitudes concerning women (T)
- Equality of men and women (E).

In some cases an answer may be close to both M and T. Whenever that occurs, T has been considered as the most relevant category and thus the response has been assigned there. A total of 302 responses were registered. Table 6.9 shows how the answers are distributed among categories.

Table 6.9. Distribution of responses to Female Participation, by category.

Category	No	%
Marriage (M)	29	10
Necessity of working at home, financial problems (W)	49	16
Usefulness of schooling, benefits for girls (U)	58	19
Traditional attitudes concerning women (T)	104	34
Equality of men and women (E)	62	21
	302	100

203 of the responses show pessimistic views on the issue, as they stress obstacles in the education of females. Ninety-nine are positive mainly by stating advantages of female education or by proclaiming the desirability of equality norms.

An analysis of the data shows that the most frequent response is "Girls have to work at home", which is given 44 times or in 15% of all answers.

Next comes "There is no difference between boys and girls, both should go to school", 39 times or 13%.

Third, one finds a response about the benefits of schooling: "Girls could become nurses, teachers etc", mentioned in 35 responses or 12% of all answers.

It is a delicate task to interpret these responses. The importance of traditional attitudes is obvious. Thirty-four percent of all answers fell within that category. People refer to certain customs without questioning their relevancy. Long ago women were assigned certain duties and a specified role in society. It seems hard for people to imagine why change would be desirable. Clearly the impact of traditional views is stronger on the issue of Female Participation than on the issue of Motivation discussed earlier in this Chapter.

The substance of traditional attitudes in the context of female education, as expressed through the interview responses, seems to be dominated by a general low opinion of girls. The opinion that it is not desirable or worthwhile to spend money on girls' schooling is frequently stated. "It is not our custom to send girls to school in this village". The norms regulating girls' behaviour and role in society are seldom questioned.

One finding from the interview study is that occasionally an individual gives "modern" answers on Motivation for becoming literate but "conservative" responses regarding Female Participation. A conceivable explanation could be that it takes more time to change the view of woman's status than it does to change ideas about other innovations in the village situation.

Parents are not used to sending their girls to school, nor do they feel it advantageous. One answer from the Gidole area in Gamu Gofa may illustrate a common view:

"The father says: she will marry and what she has learnt at school will be good for her husband, not for me" (1.2.212 Male, age 16, literate).

Many responses express a low opinion of women's capacity in terms of mental and physical ability. A few examples:

"Girls are feeble, thus their place is in the house grinding, carrying water and cutting firewood" (2.2.501, M, age 45, illiterate).

"Some parents question the intelligence of girls - they think that girls are feebleminded" (2.2.57, M, Participant in the Campaign (PP), age 13, literate).

"Women do not have the same mental ability as men" (4.1.504, M, age 37, illiterate).

Allusions to low physical ability among women and girls are remarkable when one considers the wellknown fact that they have to work very hard in physical labour all their lives.

In Muslim villages the following objections are expressed:

"It might spoil a girl's conduct if she goes to school. Perhaps it will be difficult for her to get a husband afterwards" (4.1.519, M, age 30, illiterate).

"This is a cultural problem. When a girl is educated it becomes a problem to find her a husband. If the man is illiterate there would be a social inequality between them and he would not like that" (4.1.517, M, age 23, illiterate).

Nowhere in the interview data has the opinion been expressed that it might be undesirable for an illiterate women to marry a man who is educated. On the contrary one finds phrases like: "she will marry an educated man and make me proud". Evidently many people believe that a woman is risking the loss of her good reputation if she attends school together with boys or men. In some instances it is considered unsuitable for women or girls to be outside the house after darkness.

Surprisingly few answers, about 2%, mention poverty as a reason for not sending girls to school.

An example of what is considered relevant education for girls is quoted from Wollo:

"If girls stay at home they learn cooking and other household tasks, which they have to know if they marry. If they do not know these things the husbands may send them back to their parents" (4.1.505, Female respondent (F), adult, age not stated, illiterate).

When parents express their opinion that the most important thing for a girl is to learn how to run a house or how to please her husband they are in fact describing the true situation of most women in rural Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian rural woman is expected to perform a formidable amount of hard work. The daily chores in the house are strenuous, time consuming and exacting. She is busy grinding or pounding the foodstuffs, collecting firewood and fetching water, sometimes from a long distance. She participates in the work on the land, sometimes even looks after the cattle.

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She has to depend on the assistance of her daughters in order to manage her work. Thus the often repeated assertion that in the first place a girl has to help her mother is quite plausible.

Occasionally we heard from male and female respondents alike that girls could become nurses, doctors, secretaries etc. Such answers indicate that the respondents may not have realistic views of career opportunities. The fact that there are few positions of this kind available in a rural environment is seldom mentioned. In any case, these jobs require an education more advanced than what is accessible in the village.

Trends in women's responses

Since about 20% of the interviewees are women or girls it might be of interest to find out if there are any discernible differences between male and female responses to the interview questions.

There do not appear to be any tangible divergences. Most answers given by the 14 female participants in the literacy campaign reflect the necessity for girls to help their mothers by looking after younger children or taking over some household tasks. A few state that parents just don't permit girls to go to school. Nobody seems to question this state of affairs. It is hard to imagine that the girls who give such answers in a few years should have developed self-confidence and strength of mind to work actively for change in their social situation. It seems more likely that they will continue to accept a life in accordance with old rules, unless they get assistance from outside.

The older women sometimes mention the possibility for girls to become teachers or nurses. They often express a wish that boys and girls alike should be allowed to attend school. However, responses convey more than anything a certain resignation. People refer to traditional rules of the village; that girls should marry, and that they are urgently needed for household chores. Witness a voice from Wollo:

> *"Girls should marry and live with their husbands. But first they ought to learn how to keep a house. Girls should go to school until they marry. After that they should look after their husbands. There are few girls in school for traditional reasons. They marry and perhaps their husbands do not allow them to go to school. Girls should not be allowed to go to school with boys. Their conduct might be bad, they may not get husbands. Girls have to marry"* (4.2.592, F, adult, age not stated, illiterate).

It should be recalled from Chapter 2 that co-education was formally introduced in Ethiopia in the early fifties.

The following views stem from Gamu Gofa:

> *"I think that all men and women should go to school equally, but I don't know what the others think. Girls are not as strong as boys and are not able to walk to school and to take the risk of going in the darkness sometimes. Boys and girls should be equal in every way. Both should go to school. I want them to get knowledge"* (1.1.527, F, age 50, illiterate).

> *"A man can become a teacher. Girls usually marry. They are more interested in getting married. They start school but then they marry and stop coming. Both should be allowed to go to school, they wish to have the same kind of knowledge"* (1.1.533, F, age 25-30, illiterate).

It should be pointed out that many men speak approvingly about equality and admit that girls should have the same opportunities as their brothers to go to school. Men and women agree upon the necessity for girls to marry and to subordinate themselves to men.

We should ask how serious the men are when they discuss the equality of sexes. Is there a real wish to reconsider the traditional role of women and if so, what steps are they actually prepared to take?

DISCUSSION

We are aware of the risk that we have misinterpreted our interview data, since as foreigners we are influenced by a Western culture and Western notions about women's rights. When foreigners suggest ways of assisting Ethiopian women to improve their life

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situation it could even produce negative effects. Nonetheless we have dared to suggest a few possible ways of action. It is important, however, that the Ethiopian women themselves become involved in shaping the developmental process in their country. One way of giving foreign assistance could be to help Ethiopian female social researchers to take up these lines of research.

The important question is: What possible ways are there to bring about improvements in the situation of the Ethiopian rural woman?

An obvious answer from advocates of education as a means of eliminating social injustices would be: To improve her opportunities for education. She would then be better equipped for stating her cause. A starting point could be to proclaim officially that boys and girls are to have the same rights to schooling. In a way this idea has already been put forward after the Ethiopian revolution, through the literacy campaign launched by the present government during the last years of the 1970's. But hard facts prove that it will take a long time to accomplish such a proposition. When resources are limited, parents will tend to send one or more boys to school, but keep the girls at home.

In the case of women and girls in the seven research villages the situation could be summarized as follows: There was education of a kind available - but women and girls did not participate in it to any great extent. Since the girls have not received any basic education it will not be possible for them to go to secondary school or other kinds of formalized training. And since women tend to influence their daughters, the current attitude toward education will affect girls' enrolments during the next twenty years.

One argument against education for girls is that the school does not teach them useful knowledge. A girl is required to learn how to run a house, look after children and cattle, perform a multitude of menial tasks and serve the men. What is the use of knowing how to read and write in such a setting? The girl herself acknowledges this kind of argument as sensible and does not protest. The attitude of her father and brothers adds to the girl's conviction that education is not for her.

We have found that the text in the Primer used by YDLC always refers to men and boys. Students mentioned in the text are boys. Pictures in the Primer show men and boys performing activities of various kinds, even such work that usually is done by women and girls. These facts probably make it hard for women and men to see any connection between the literacy school and women. Another important point is that female teachers have been comparativly scarce in Campaign schools.

In Ethiopia as in most other countries men dominate the economic sector. This means that the interests of the market coincide with the interests of the patriarchy. As a consequence, women are prevented from competing with men for jobs in the open market. One of the tools reinforcing this situation is the system of special female extension programmes Most of these have been concerned with activities that are considered as typical of women's duties, mirroring Western middle-class ideas about the female role in society. Courses in home economics, childcare, nutrition and handicrafts are examples of what is being offered. The women's programmes seem to confirm that cash economy is for men only. Such programmes also tend to legitimize women's economic dependence on men (Rogers, 1978, 1980). The Western-influenced views on land ownership is one example of how "development" has pushed African women further back in their own society.

In our opinion the key problem lies in the traditional role women have in connection with the production of food crops and their influence upon the disposal of the products. The Ethiopian woman never seems to have had much influence on the production and disposition of crops, although she has always worked on the land together with men. It is a fact that many women are seen selling spices and other smaller products at the market, but men are in charge as soon as any substantial amount of capital is involved (Tadesse, 1978).

Prior to the land reform in 1975 there were few opportunities for a woman to become owner of a piece of land. It is natural that economic and social status is strongly connected with the ownership of land in a country, where the majority of people live off the land. Since women have been excluded from this right, their status has become very low indeed. The land reform in 1975 brought hope of a better position for Ethiopian women. The reform proclaims that nobody shall own land as private property but everybody who wants to cultivate the land shall have a right to a share of it, regardless of sex. But since the piece of land is allotted to the family, not individuals, it follows that men become stewards of the plot. Traditional rights give them the authority to assume sole responsibility for managing the work on the land (Tadesse, 1978).

One of the objectives of the land reform may well have been to facilitate the emancipation of rural women. The Ethiopian tradition of male dominance in most households makes it doubtful whether the reform will serve this purpose. A way of changing the situation may be to include women in the Peasant Associations which decide most of the communal affairs in a village. During the period 1975/76 when the Zemacha Campaign was working, there were some attempts to do this or alternatively to start separate Women's Associations. These efforts do not seem to have lasted. There is evidence that men were hostile to the women's organizational efforts, even to the extent of forbidding their wives to attend the meetings (Tadesse, 1978).

During the last few years conditions have changed somewhat. New Women's Associations have been established all over the country. The idea is that all Ethiopian women eventually will be organized. The object of these organizations is to give political education to their members and to find ways and means for improving their lives economically and socially. Since the movement is still young, it is difficult to assess its importance. It should be noted that the Women's Associations are under the jurisdiction of the Peasant Associations, which means that they need the approval of the men before they can initiate new activities.

With increased consciousness the conflict between the oppressed groups of women in Ethiopia and the rest of their society will be more pronounced. Basically the situation is similar in industrialized and developing countries. Hopefully it may not be too late for the Ethiopian women to fight against a stereotyped modernization process, which could make permanent their status as second class citizens in their own society. Given fair access to resources and reasonable compensation for work, most women in rural areas of Ethiopia would find energy and competence for income-producing ventures. This would probably also be the most efficient way of bringing about changes in attitudes to education and innovations in the whole society.

We feel that education alone is not a sufficient means for improving woman's status. It may be better to start by helping her to escape her economic dependence on men. A possible way of doing this could be to facilitate her participation in production. If a woman produces goods which bring hard cash to the house, her status would probably become higher. Since the Ethiopian woman is already working extremely hard, it is not likely that she could undertake such exacting new tasks without some changes in her domestic situation. A determined effort is needed to ease the burden of women's routine chores in rural households.

Consequently, action is needed to improve the design and availability of facilities, such as wells and local mills. Better access to firewood is another requirement. Some kind of local child care service will probably also be required, in order to free rural women to contribute to the welfare of society at large. Through such means it will also be possible to free their daughters from a significant part of their duties in the household and allow them to attend school.

In discussing the above issues with rural women, we often got vague and non-committal answers. Perhaps this experience indicates that Ethiopian women are not very often asked to voice their own opinion. It could thus be seen as another indication of the invisibility of women. Many women probably want to avoid openly contradicting prevailing opinions in the village, e.g. opinions of the men. Or could the reason be that most of our interviews were conducted by men or at least with the assistance of a male interpreter?

It is not only male attitudes of dominance that hold women back but also constraints within their own minds. These social inhibitions and traditional restrictions are usually transmitted by women themselves, from mother to daughter to grand-daughter, and are often very hard to change. They are part of the informal education that the village milieu offers its young people. In the Ethiopian society as in many other societies in the world, women show deference to men in situations such as community meetings. Girls generally are taught from childhood to be mute and submissive. In order to understand the women, one must be able to listen not only to their words but also to their silences.

We probably ask too much if we expect the rural woman to fight alone for her independence. Whose responsibility is it then to bring about changes in the woman's situation in rural Ethiopia?

As we see it, both national authorities and international agencies will have to take part in the process. It is necessary that implementation of new programmes in rural areas is preceded by efforts to find out about local conditions and their implications for women's participation. This also means that women with knowledge of rural areas should be represented in the planning bodies at all levels.

New extension programs have to consider these points of view. Women should be integrated in all development activities in the village. Priority should be given to development of village technologies, which could be used by women.

These reflections do not imply that we consider the question of female attendance at school unimportant. We feel that the extension programs including measures for achieving tools to facilitate routine work in the villages ought to be combined with literacy classes for adults. It would be possible to include such subject matter in the courses that might serve as instruction for new fields of activities proposed in a certain village. By such measures one would attend to motivational aspects concerning both women and men.

PART FOUR

Chapter 7

MOTIVES AND GOALS

The evaluative model which was applied when we collected data for the present study implied that YDLC's goals were taken for granted. In our continued involvement with education and research we have arrived at the position that education should be viewed in its societal context. As a consequence we have found it necessary to critically analyze given goals and to explore underlying motives. Our line of reasoning is that YDLC's parent organization, the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, ECMY, initiated and operated the literacy campaign inspired by certain motives. Motives are related to the issue Why literacy? Goals on the other hand pertain to how the desired literacy is envisaged at an operational level. The analysis is also concerned with consequences of the campaign, which were not envisaged in documented motives and goals. We are aware of the close inter-relation between motives and goals. The distinction between motives and goals is nevertheless maintained for analytical purposes.

Our treatise of motives and goals starts with a few notes on YDLC and its parent organization ECMY. After that ECMY's motives for literacy work are discussed from various points of view; ECMY's constitution, ECMY's massmedia programme Yemissrach Dimts, YD, and ECMY's views on development. Thereafter follows a part which focuses on YDLC goals. Finally motives and goals are discussed in the conceptual perspectives outlined in Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON YDLC AND ECMY

About 20 years ago, more precisely in 1962, Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign was initiated. The campaign was conducted under the auspices of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. Partners in the literacy work have also been the Evangelical Church Betel and the Lutheran Church in Ethiopia. YDLC received economic support from the Lutheran World Federation, LWF, in Geneva. YDLC has been operating over practically the whole of Ethiopia, chiefly in roadless and isolated locations far from towns and government schools (Sjöström & Sjöström, 1973, 1977).

Up to the mid-seventies, more than half a million students had participated in the campaign. At that time the number of schools was around 1700. A major portion of the students were children, even if the principal target group was declared as adults aged 15 to 25 years. A more comprehensive description of the campaign, its organization and way of operating etc is given in Chapter 3.

YDLC has nowadays ceased to exist as an organizational and administrative entity. The campaign has been integrated with the social development operations of the Mekane Yesus Church. Beginning in 1975 the literacy schools have been in a process of transfer to the local Peasant Associations. LWF and ECMY have, however, continued their support to the schools. ECMY's continuing literacy activities have been coordinated with the Government-operated National Literacy Campaign which was launched in 1979.

ECMY counted at the time of its establishment in 1959 ca 20 000 members. It is one of the fastest growing churches of the world, and reported in 1980 a membership of ca 535 000 (SKM, 1981).

ECMY's origins can be traced back to Lutheran mission work in Ethiopia, which started more than a century ago. Traditionally there have been strong ties with the Swedish evangelicals. In actual fact missionaries from the Swedish Evangelical Mission (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, EFS) began to work in Ethiopia in 1866. Those who are interested in ECMY's history are directed to Arén (1978) and Saeverås (1974).

Apart from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, ECMY is by far the largest Christian organization in Ethiopia. On the basis of data from Annuaire de l'Afrique (1979) the membership of the Orthodox Church can be estimated at about 13 million.

It is also worthy of mention that ECMY has strong historical links with the Orthodox Church. "It is not wrong to say that the Mekane Yesus Church was born within the Orthodox Church" (Ezra Gebremedhin, 1972, p. 209, our translation). The relation between the two churches has also given room for dialogue and cooperation.

The forming of ECMY took place during the reign of emperor Haile Selassie I. The rule of Haile Selassie is treated above in Chapter 2. Haile Selassie was as described earlier overthrown in 1974 through a military revolution.

As we have seen,ECMY's origins are connected with missionary work in Ethiopia. After the establishment of the Church, foreign missions have continued to serve as "supporting agencies" (Agreement of Integration Policy, 1964, quoted by Saeverås, 1974) Many of the expatriate missionaries were assigned to work within the Church's educational institutions. In August 1944 the Ministry of Education issued regulations on mission activities. One of the aims of the decree was "the closest possible collaboration between Government and Mission" (Saeverås, 1974, p. 32). The decree moreover stated that "educational institutions were in all professional matters subject to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education" (Saeverås, 1974, p. 33). It may be recalled from Chapter 2 that a standard curriculum was issued which applied to both private and government operated schools.

Even if the official document on mission activities does not have immediate bearing on ECMY, it gives an idea of the conditions under which non-government institutions were required to operate. It seems clear that non-government programmes for social and humanitarian work were readily accepted, provided that they kept within the rules set by the Imperial government and consistent with its intentions.

The revolutionaries who gained power in 1974 soon engaged in drastic socio-economic changes, e.g. redistribution of urban and rural land. Major efforts have been directed towards the field of education with strong emphasis on mass-literacy in rural areas (cf Chapter 2).

MOTIVES

ECMY's constitution

Exploring motives for literacy we shall first turn to ECMY's constitution of 1958, where Article IV, Aims and Functions, contains the following statements:

> *"Section 1: - To preserve and extend the pure teachings of the Gospel.*
>
> /.../
>
> *Section 3: - To awaken, coordinate and effectively supervise and direct the united energies of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church - Mekane Yesus in the extension of the Kingdom of God by:*
>
> /.../
>
> *g. The establishment and maintenance of educational, medical, and theological institutions directly or through affiliated councils"* Quoted from Saeverås, 1974, p. 170).

One of ECMY's motives for literacy work seems to be reflected in its expressed endeavour to propagate the Christian faith. Another and closely related motive is obviously human and social service through involvement in among other educational enterprises.

It also seems reasonable to regard ECMY's interest in reading instruction as an expression of a protestant tradition in these matters. (See among others Cipolla, 1969; Johansson, 1972; Lockridge, 1979 and Widén, 1973).

In an illuminative example of the nexus between Lutheran tradition and literacy, taken from missionary work in Eritrea in the nineteenth century, Arén (1978) tells us that literacy was a precondition for membership in the evangelical church:

> "*Literacy was a requirement for membership: every believer was expected to nurture his spiritual life through daily Bible reading*" (p. 332).

In the present context it is of interest to note the long educational tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In the church schools instruction in reading and writing was offered probably more than 1000 years ago. Also of long standing is literacy training in the Arabic languages taking place in the so-called Koran schools (cf. Chapters 2 and 5).

ECMY's mass-media program

A treatise of ECMY's motives for literacy work necessitates a historic digression into the creation of a mass-media operation, which eventually included the literacy campaign YDLC. We are thus brought to the preparatory phase of YDLC. This part of the text also contains some notes on the contemporary educational situation in Ethiopia. In the same year as ECMY was constituted, 1959, the initiative was taken to found a mass-media programme, the Yemissrach Dimts, YD. The establishment of YD can be interpreted as a logical consequence of ECMY's intentions as spelled out in the just quoted excerpts from the ECMY Constitution. The overarching motive for Yemissrach Dimts is expressed in its Constitution, part of which is quoted below:

"Article III - Purpose

Section 1: To win for Jesus Christ those who are without a saving knowledge of the Gospel.

Section 2. To deepen the spiritual life of existing believers.

Article IV - Scope of the Programme

Section 1: Publication and distribution of suitable Christian Educational and Cultural literature in Amharic and other languages.

Section 2: Production of radio programmes for Ethiopia in accordance with the policies of the supporting Churches and Synods and of the LWF Broadcasting Service.

Section 3: Promotion of adult literacy through organized campaigns and established schools.

Section 4: Development of any other means which may serve the purpose of the Programme such as audio-visuals, etc"
(Constitution of Yemissrach Dimts. As amended December 9, 1970).

The YD Constitution reiterates the overall motives of ECMY quoted above. A specific educational aim is to promote literacy.

YD was at its establishment an ecumenical undertaking involving several churches and missions. Principal sponsor was, however, ECMY, a role which has expanded alongside with the integration of participating bodies into the ECMY (See for instance ECMY, 1973 b).

YD started with a publishing operation, the aim of which it was to produce Christian literature. Later YD was organized in four different departments:

literature
radio programmes
literacy
audio-visual aids.

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YD's efforts to spread Christian literature were not particularly successful at the beginning. The reason, it was assumed, was that reading capacity among church members was too weak to allow for an audience large enough to make the publishing enterprise economically justified. It was thought that a literacy campaign would widen the readership for Christian books among believers and others.

This was also a time when enrolment in the church expanded rapidly. In certain areas, particularly strong church growth coincided with a strikingly low rate of literacy. There is information about congregations where not a single member could read or write. Leaders of the evangelical work in these areas felt it their responsibility to bring about a change in the prevailing situation (K J Lundström, personal communication, 1972-12-26; YDLC, 1975).

At this junction, the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva approached church leaders in Ethiopia with an inquiry about priorities for social and humanitarian aid. The latter subsequently decided to accord priority to literacy work.

In a letter from ECMY to LWF it was pointed out that:

> *"There are many ways and means which can be used in order to help our fellowmen out of poverty and distress and help them raise their standard of living. Different types of welfare projects can be started and medical assistance can be given in certain areas and this will, no doubt, be of great help. But there is one thing which can reach more people and can secure economic and social progress in wider areas than any other program and that is a literacy campaign. By helping people to learn to read and write, the printed word can be a door into a new world with new possibilities that will be open to them. They can, by reading, learn about sanitation and about food and clothing, they can get new ideas about how to cultivate their land and build their houses, etc. In the beautiful and rich country of Ethiopia, a large part of the population is still illiterate. In order to help them develop their economic, social and spiritual life, a Literacy Campaign will be of the greatest help. The Campaign could be organised as a joint project of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus"* (Quoted from YDLC, 1975, pp. 2-3).

A functionalistic attitude towards literacy is visible in the document quoted above. The text bears witness to an educational optimism which as we have seen was widespread at that time, when development tended to be interpreted in terms of technical change and economic growth. Such a concept of development was probably favoured by Western donor agencies (ECMY, 1973 a).

In this context a few salient facts about the general situation in Ethiopia in the 1960's should be remembered. Education in Ethiopia is also treated elsewhere in this text in Chapter 2. Further reference is made to Brooks (1976), Mesfin (1972) and Wagaw (1979).

The educational situation was still gloomy. Literacy rate for the population above 10 years of age was stated as 4,7 per cent in 1970 (Central Statistical Office, 1974 a). The lack of facilities for literacy and primary education was most pronounced in the rural areas. Adult education was another domain where massive efforts were required. Despite ambitious schemes to improve the situation, little was effected, because resources were meagre. Regarding the role of literacy there was discernible movement from literacy for its own sake, towards a functionalistic view in terms of daily-life skills and socio-economic development. This change in attitude reflects an optimistic outlook on education as an agent for national development.

A couple of important events are also brought to attention; the 1961 Unesco Conference of African States for the Development of Education, held in Addis Ababa, the creation in 1967 of the Adult Education and Literacy Department within the Ministry of Education, and lastly, the launching in 1967 of the Experimental World Literacy Programme, EWLP. In Ethiopia EWLP went under the name of the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Programme, WOALP.

ECMY and development

Discussing motives for literacy work, we shall now try to get an idea of ECMY's attitude to the issue of development. A glimpse of the Church's views was offered already in the just quoted document from the planning stages of YDLC.

In a key document from 1972, ECMY challenges common definitions of development. This document consists of a letter dated May 9, 1972, adressed to the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva. The ECMY letter, which deals with the Interrelation between Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development appears, in among other sources, ECMY, (1973 a). See also ECMY (1975 a); LWF (1974); Missionsorientering (1972) and Saeverås (1974).

The document, which criticizes principles for distribution of aid from Christian donor agencies, received considerable attention among churches in the West. In response to the document an international conference was held in Nairobi in 1974 under the motto Proclamation and Human Development (LWF, 1974). In the 1972 letter, ECMY questions a narrow materialistic Western interpretation of the development concept as well as a prevailing dichotomy between materia and spirit. The Church maintains that development must encompass human beings in their totality.

> *"We believe that an integral human development where the spiritual and material needs are seen together, is the only right approach to the development question in society"* (ECMY, 1973 a, p. 46).

The ECMY standpoint is elaborated in another excerpt from the letter:

"The standard of human life and that of society is normally evaluated in terms of economic growth and material w lth or in technology and production. Based on this materialist Western concept of development and in an effort to find a remedy c least two things seem to have been largely overlooked, namely:

a) that there are values in life beyond those c modern technology and economic betterment without which man's development will never be meaningful and lasting.

b) that man is not only the suffering creature who needs help but he is also the most important development agent" (ECMY, 1973 a, p. 45).

It deserves to be noted that the Church does no seem to dissociate herself from modern technology and material bet erment.

In terms of the 1972 document, the role of the hurch is to serve the whole man or the whole human being. The cor ern of the Church should be proclamation of the Gospel and human evelopment. The 1972 letter expresses ECMY's desire to formulat a definition of the concept of development based on her own ex riences and valuations.

ECMY has taken a positive stand on and activel cooperated in the development of rural Ethiopia which was se into movement with the proclamation of the land reform in 1975. Wi h respect to the Church's attitudes towards the surrounding soc ty during pre-revolutionary times, she apparently did not re rd it as her vocation to strive for precipitate and radical hanges in the prevailing social and political structures, bu rather to contribute to a stepwise and non-violent transformat n of the Ethiopian society. The political order was not challenge however, even if the Church was committed to opposing exploitat n and injustice (cf. Tarekegn, 1972).

In this context we should take into account the fact that the Church already in 1973, in advance of the revo tioh demanded a land reform, amounting to a change at the st ctural level (Etiopien, 1974 and Gudina, 1975).

The Church's endorsement of the new government's development programme was expressed at a meeting of ECMY's Executive Committee in August 1975:

> *"The Executive Committee therefore welcomes the intention of the Government to provide education to our people at all levels as well as health and medical services oriented to meet the needs of the masses as indicated in the 'Declaration on Economic Policy of Socialist Ethiopia. (page 9, paras. I and J)'"* (ECMY, 1975 a, p. 4).

In what ECMY apparently regards as a consequence of its shared interest in the social development ambitions of the revolutionaries, she decided to transfer her welfare operations to the Government.

> *"The Executive Committee therefore resolves:*
>
> *1) to adopt as a general policy of the ECMY to hand over at appropriate times all community development and service institutions to the relevant bodies;"*... (ECMY, 1975 a).

In a report from the ECMY's Development Department in January 1976 it is affirmed that

> *"Our Church has through a number of actions on top and synod-level shown that she is prepared not only to change her existing programs to fit the new situation but also to engage herself in new activities of any type serving the most needy parts of the Ethiopian society along principles fit to the present political situation of Ethiopia"* (ECMY 1976 a, p. 1). See also ECMY (1976 b).

At the same time ECMY intended to contribute a large proportion of the funds needed to run fully or partially transmitted institutions. ECMY was in other words prepared to engage in actual collaboration with the socialist rulers of Ethiopia (ECMY, 1975 b). The process of transferring literacy schools to Peasant Associations started as previously mentioned in 1975. In accordance with ECMY's adopted policy schools that are handed over continue to receive economic assistance from Church. On the issue of transferring YDLC schools see also Gudina (1975).

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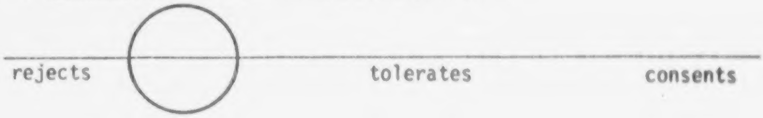
In short, ECMY is decidedly positive to the revolutionary regime's ambitions and efforts to bring about social justice and betterment for the needy masses of Ethiopia. It seems clear that the Church's doctrine and the socialist ideology of the revolutionaries adher to common values in the field of social development. On the other hand, the Church refuses to equate faith with political ideology. In the concluding paragraph of his just cited memorandum, Gudina (1975) writes:

> *"Because of its eternal dimensions the Gospel could never be replaced by any of the ideologies invented by men throughout the centuries"* (p. 17).

Judging from ECMY's demand for land reform in 1973 and her welcoming of the new regime's social policy, the Church seems not to be adverse to a structural perspective on concepts like human welfare and social development.

ECMY's attitude to the new political power could perhaps be placed on a continuum with rejection and consent as poles, and with an intermediate position suggesting tolerance, as indicated in Figure 7.1.

a) The ideology of the revolutionary regime



b) Social development

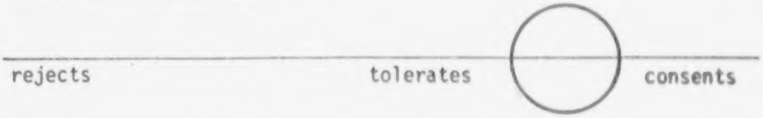


Figure 7.1. Intuitive estimation of ECMY's attitude to the Ethiopian Government's ideology and to its ambitions and efforts for social development.

The foregoing study of ECMY and literacy work indicates that the cardinal motive is a Christian concern for integrated spiritual and material development, expressed in the formula Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development, or To Serve the Whole Man. A socio-economic motive is readily identified, but the Church has asserted the necessity for a balance between socio-economic and spiritual development. ECMY's educational endeavours were conceived and implemented within the imperial context. But the Church has also, without hesitation it seems, placed literacy facilities at the disposal of the revolutionary government's efforts for material betterment while at the same time affirming the Church's doctrinal identity.

GOALS

In the preceding pages we have attempted to explore motives underlying ECMY's involvement with literacy work. In this section we shall see how these motives are reflected in goals which guide the educational operations of YDLC.

With regard to goal statements we have not come across any officially adopted document of the same status as ECMY's and YD's constitutions.

The earliest goal declaration that we are aware of is found in YDLC Inspectors' Training Manual (Jalatta, 1964).

> *"A workable programme whereby illiterates learn to read and write Amharic and stimulate the readers to carry on by using books and booklets made available for them"...* (p. 4).

As a goal formulation may also be regarded a definition of literacy from the same document: "A person is literate when he can read and write well enough to make his skill function in his daily life" (p. 30). A functionality geared to everyday activities is reflected in the above document.

There are, however, also indications which suggest that a traditional "literacy per se" approach was envisaged during earlier stages of the campaign. Karl Johan Lundström (personal communication, 1972-12-26) observes that the original planning had emphasized simple reading instruction, but that later the need for a broader scope was felt. This perception is corroborated by the following statement in a retrospective account of YDLC (YDLC, 1975, p. 9):

> ..." *the second Five-year Plan was marked by a departure from mere literacy to literacy integrated with development programs in rural communities*".

The second five-year plan relates to the period 1965-1970.

The only formal curriculum for YDLC that we have been able to locate is YDLC Tentative Curriculum from 1970 (YDLC, 1970). This document spells out the goals in the following manner:

> "*Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign. Literacy Curriculum for Adults*
>
> *The aim of Yemissrach Dimts Adult Literacy is to teach adults reading, writing and the four steps of arithmetic. Then the students shall be helped with Follow-Up Literature in the manner of practising better ways of using their vocation. It is also the aim of this program to give basic moral teaching and emphasize to the students the values of good citizenship*" (p. 4).

The principle of daily-life functionalism shines through in the literacy curriculum. "Basic moral teaching" in all likelihood refers to religious subject matter.

With regard to official documents, the Adult Education and Literacy Division of the Ministry of Education, in 1967 published an Adult Education and Literacy Syllabus (Ministry of Education, 1967). The aims of YDLC are on the whole compatible with the Major Objectives stated in the government syllabus. On the other hand, we are not able to tell whether those who drafted the YDLC curriculum had actually studied and paid attention to the official document.

Another relevant formal document seems to be the Elementary School Curriculum Years I-IV (Ministry of Education 1970/71) which originates from the early 1950's (Wagaw, 1979). There is only a vague resemblance between the government curriculum and that of YDLC. Let us also be aware of the circumstance that the official curriculum is concerned with children, whereas YDLC is aimed at adults.

The Third Five Year Plan of the YDLC for the years 1975-1980 underscores the role for literacy in all social and economic development of the country.

> *"A process of participation by the masses in the shaping of this process requires both the skill of literacy and consciencitation to their situation that such a skill can provoke"* (YDLC 1975-1980, p. 21).

An application, dated 1974-03-13, (ECMY, 1974) to LWF about financial assistance to carry out the afore-mentioned plan points out that the goal for YDLC is to help local leaders establish basic education for adults in areas where such opportunities are limited or non-existent.

The importance of not loosing sight of the religious aspect of YDLC literacy training is emphasized in several documents. Reference is made to among others YDLC, 1972 a, b and 1973 a, b.

Utilizing available information on YDLC goals, an attempt is made in the following to systematize them into three different categories; educational goals, goals related to economic and social development, and doctrinal-ideological goals.

I Educational goals

to teach participants reading and writing and arithmetic

II Goals related to economic and social development

to promote agriculture, gardening, health, good hygiene, home economics, community development

to promote good family relationships

to improve the standard of living

to develop individuals and nation spiritually, socially and economically

to create positive attitudes towards participation in local and national development programmes

to promote in the masses awareness of their situation with a view to bringing about development

III Doctrinal-ideological goals

to spread the Gospel, teaching participants to read the Bible and other spiritual books

to provide basic moral teaching

to promote good citizenship

to develop individuals and nation spiritually, socially and economically.

(Sources: Jalatta, 1964, 1969; ECMY, 1974; YDLC, 1970, 1972 a, b; 1973 a, b, 1974, 1975-1980; personal communications from Hailu Lemeneh, 1974-11-18 and K.J. Lundström, 1972-12-26).

The three goal categories represent a cross-section of goal elements covering a period of time from the start of YDLC in 1962 up to 1975, when schools began to be transferred to local communities. The YDLC goal structure should not be regarded as static, but rather as something reflecting a dynamic process. In Figure 7.2 we have tried to illustrate the dynamic character of YDLC goals.

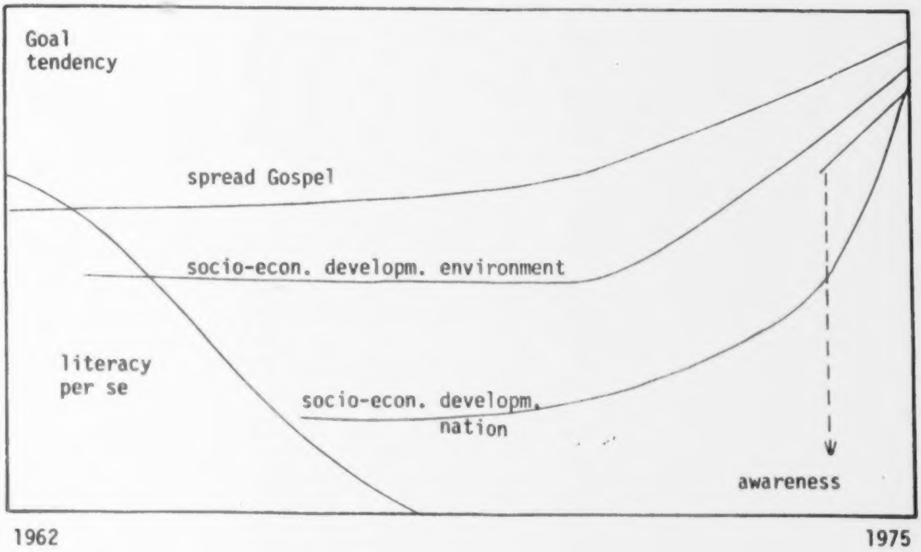


Figure 7.2. YDLC goal structure.

Figure 7.2 should be regarded as a subjective interpretation of available information on YDLC goals and motives. The goal structure is implicitly related to ECMY's motives subsumed under the formula Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development.

MOTIVES AND GOALS IN A CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Motives and development

The conceptual perspective we refer to in analyzing motives underlying YDLC is a double one:

a) development
b) the role of education for development.

Starting with development as economic growth and technical change it appears that ECMY has not been adverse to such a definition. The Western growth dogma was in vogue at the time of YDLC's establishment. So for instance were the 1960's declared by the United Nations as the first development decade.

It is recalled that in the beginning of the 1970's ECMY manifested a strong reaction against a one-sided emphasis on economic growth. The development optimism in Western countries was already on the decline at that time, one reason being that economic expansion had failed to close the gaps between the haves and have-nots, on individual as well as national levels.

It seems reasonable to assume that ECMY's demand for land reform was inspired by a concern for equity and social justice. ECMY's disenchantment with a Western development model appears to have had primarily theological motives. The Church advocated a balance between material and spiritual development under the motto Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development. ECMY's holistic formula represents an important example of an indigenous interpretation of the development concept.

In this context, ECMY's attitude to the political powers will be briefly discussed. An interesting document on this issue was written by ECMY's General Secretary, Gudina Tumsa. It should be mentioned that Gudina Tumsa disappeared in July 1978 and that his whereabouts are hitherto (March, 1982) unknown. The General Secretary's document was prepared for

ECMY's eleventh General Assembly in January 1980, and treated the topic of a Christian's role in a given society (Gudina, 1980, see also Backlund, 1980). The gist of this document is that a Christian as a subject in a certain country is obliged to obey the laws and regulations of that country. All secular authority emanates from God.

A consequence of this attitude is apparently that in the present Ethiopian situation a Christian should cooperate with the government in its efforts for socio-economic development. The General Secretary's document is concluded with an important memento, suggesting that the loyality to a political regime becomes suspended, when a Christian is required to act against God's law. ECMY's attitude to the political powers is evidently consistent with Christian tradition (Compare Törnvall, 1940 and Wingren, 1980).

The discussion of Gudina Tumsa's document touches on the valuations which form the basis for ECMY's educational motives, that is the Church's Christian doctrine. To analyze that value system is nevertheless beyond the scope of this study.

In a preceding chapter were described two theoretical models for the relationship between education and development; structural-functional theories and conflict theories. In the following discussion an attempt is made to view YDLC from a conflict perspective. It can be recalled that conflict theory regards education as an instrument used by ruling groups to pursue their interests. Thus, education is planned and operated by individuals and groups harbouring certain intentions and expectations. With conflicting interests in a society, the educational system operates in such a way as to serve the interests of the groups in power. A key function of education is to reproduce the existing social order.

At the time when YDLC was established, the pervasive view of the role of education for development was undisputedly positive. ECMY's concern for literacy should be viewed against a backdrop of an international quest for literacy in developing countries. The manifest motive on the part of Western actors was solidarity with the impoverished millions of the Third World. Literacy was designed to promote global justice and equality by contributing to technical development and economic growth. It can be argued, however, that an objective or actual function was to establish and expand an international capitalistic market system. A conceiveable role for literacy in that respect was inter alia to socialize students for jobs in industrial workplaces and to create a market for consumer goods in developing countries.

In our opinion there existed a considerable degree of resemblance between ECMY's motives for education and those expressed by the international welfare community e.g. solidarity with the poor and needy. But there seem to be few obvious parallels in objective functions or non-expected consequences. It is possible, however, that the campaign schools contributed to the socialization for work, even if an industrialized production system is non-existent in rural Ethiopia. There might, however, be a risk that even individuals with modest education are drawn to towns and cities where they join a growing reserve army of cheap labour.

With regard to other objective functions, analysis of educational content suggests that certain stereotyped valuations about for example sex roles were reproduced in YDLC literacy schools. Another conceivable consequence of literacy schooling was that teaching methods might induce passivity and subjugation.

There is, however, at the same time a likelihood of objective functions that run in an opposite and positive direction. The literacy schools might have served to de-stabilize the existing society by bringing people into contact with an innovative activity such as the literacy school, thereby promoting a certain openness for change.

Discussing ECMY's role as an educational agent it is necessary to point out that theories on education and development usually are applied on a national level, dealing with government-operated education and presupposing an efficient power apparatus. Neither of these two circumstances are immediately applicable to ECMY as an educational agent. It can be argued, however, that ECMY serves the political power in an indirect way. As we have tried to demonstrate in the preceding pages, ECMY sees it as her Christian duty to obey and cooperate with the secular powers as long as that is compatible with the Church's creed. As a consequence, institutions like YDLC become part of the official system. An example of how the government exercises influence was offered in the foregoing, when it was pointed out that private schools were required to conform to official regulations.

It is also true that ECMY's educational intentions transcended those of the political power, i.e. to propagate a Christian doctrine. It seems a reasonable assumption that ECMY's pathos for social betterment prior to the revolution was stronger than the government's, and that the Church preferred more rapid, if not precipitate changes. In the same vein the Church evidently shares the new regime's ambitions for socio-economic development.

It was noted already in Chapter 2 that changes in the political structure entailed consequences in the field of education. During the old regime schooling was geared to serve the imperial administration and thereby maintaining the existing hegemony. There was an emphasis on secondary education for young people in towns and cities, while comparatively limited resources were allocated to adult and rural education.

The educational policy of the new rulers has placed education of the rural masses at the forefront with a view to social justice and equality. An objective function of education within both political systems is to secure political power. During the imperial era hegemony was effectuated through a cadre of loyal administrators. What the revolutionary regime is aiming at is in all probability politic support by a population, which has been indoctrinated by means of mass-education.

It would seem that ECMY's position vis à vis the secular power entailed differential roles for education, depending on the prevailing type of regime. In our opinion, however, ECMY as an educational agent cannot simply be regarded as a pliable instrument for the political power. In order to render a balanced assessment of church-state relations two circumstances should be taken into account:

1. There are given limits to ECMY's loyality to the secular power.
2. ECMY's educational activities are motivated by a commitment to integrated spiritual and material development.

We have previously expressed the opinion that ECMY does not represent a power structure generally attributed to educational agents. Nevertheless it seems clear that ECMY does possess certain resources of power. At the same time we are conscious of the fact that ECMY as an organization is built on a structure of democratic representativeness.

One kind of power that ECMY wields is obviously that of allocating and distributing limited resources, a faculty generally ascribed to politicians. ECMY has possessed the power to elect to utilize limited resources to conduct a literacy campaign rather than invest in, for example more medical facilities, more vocational training or more pastors and church-buildings for that matter. Once the decision was taken to allocate resources to literacy work there were again conceivable options; a mass-approach versus a selective approach, catering to children rather than to adults etc. To add to the list of possible choices there is the crucial issue of goals and curriculum. An inevitable consequence of each priority decision is obviously that something has to be sacrificed, or to put it bluntly, more schools means fewer clinics. And in terms of conflict theory, in any given educational system there are those who gain and those who lose.

Goals and international literacy

The objective of this section is to consider YDLC against the background of international literacy depicted in Chapter 1. Let us first briefly review YDLC's goals as accounted for in a previous part of the present chapter.

Albeit YDLC's goals are multifaceted, it is possible to trace certain themes which have emerged in the course of the campaign's history:

Literacy as an end in itself.

Literacy as a means to spread the Gospel.

Literacy as a means to promote socio-economic development in the environment and in the nation.

Literacy as a means to promote awareness of the learner's situation.

From the exposition in Chapter 1, we recollect that traditionally, literacy was confined to the mere skills of reading and writing. A modern view has emphasized the functional aspects of literacy for the learner's daily life, for technical progress at a national level.

On the international scene, there has been a discernible movement from a "wide-angle" mass approach towards a selective strategy. In recent times the scope for literacy has expanded to include humanistic and political aspects.

Comparing the YDLC goal development with international points of reference, there are apparent parallels. Such an observation should not be surprising, since it is impossible to conceive of an educational enterprise which exists in isolation from external influences. So for instance is it obvious that YDLC goals reflect the elevated expectations on literacy as a factor in economic and social development, that were widespread in the 1960's. YDLC furthermore represents a mass-approach to literacy which characterized literacy efforts in the years following World War II.

Moreover YDLC goals attest to a pronounced concern for functionality. The campaign's programmatic focus on adult literacy can probably be related to an internationally widespread standpoint, inspired by a quest for rapid socio-economic outcomes.

So much for resemblances. As far as we are able to judge, YDLC goals also depart from prevailing international attitudes in certain respects. YDLC pursued a mass approach to literacy, and did not adopt the selective strategy advocated and practised by the Experimental World Literacy Programme, EWLP. But there again one might ask, what trades, processes, and vocational groups should have been catered to? YDLC was operating in rural areas where agriculture is the dominating trade. From the selective point of view, it had perhaps been possible to focus on agriculture. On the other hand, that may have required a more refined selectivity adapted to the various crops. And that in its turn would have entailed drastically increased demands on resources in terms of teachers and materials.

Chapter 8

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The present study arose from an assignment to evaluate the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia, with special regard to efficiency and goal fulfilment. However, the researchers were also interested in studying other effects than student achievement. From the beginning, the evaluation plan included variables such as motivation and female participation.

The Campaign and the individual

Test results show that Campaign students learned to read, write and calculate within a reasonable period of time, i.e. one to two years in most cases. The effectiveness of the teaching process could probably be improved with a moderate input of additional resources.

The linguistic situation in Ethiopia is highly complicated with a multitude of languages and dialects spoken. Most of the students in YDLC schools did not speak Amharic, the literacy language, as their first language. Test results indicate, however, that starting to read in a foreign language is not the decisive handicap which might have been expected. Our findings indicate that there are other factors that have more pronounced unfavourable effects in this particular setting. Such factors include scarcity of books or other basic equipment, as well as negative attitudes towards education among the population in the village. Another important feature is probably the level of development in the area where the school is located.

The literacy teachers were charged with the dual task to teach both reading and a second language. The instructional medium was often the local language, probably due to the fact that many of the teachers were not sufficiently skilled in Amharic to use it in the classroom. It is possible that this fact explains to some extent why students did not seem to experience more negative effects from having to learn to read in a foreign language.

The teacher emerges as the main resource in the Campaign. Teacher training poses a grave problem, since Ethiopia, like many other developing countries, lacks adequate resources for teacher training. Literacy teachers with about eight years of schooling, combined with a short period of professional training, seemed to function at a reasonable level of efficiency. It can be argued that even more important than formal qualifications are the teacher's attitude to his work and his rapport with the community. We base this assumption on the following observations.

Since few other resources are available at the village schools, most of the instructional responsibility rests upon the teacher. To a large extent his ability to inspire students' learning influences school results. In other words, the situation in a village school is entirely different from schools where students have access to other means of stimulation, such as adequate reading materials, audiovisual aids, intercourse with other schools and students, and contacts with institutions at the national level.

Perhaps the most important part of the teacher's work is to connect educational content with the local context. To bring schools into close contact with the immediate environment is an ambition which should not be confined to affluent societies. The literacy teacher ought to be in close contact with the day-to-day life of the community in order to link school activities with community needs. His proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic is also likely to make him a valuable member of the community in general, especially in such bodies as the Peasant Associations and producers' cooperatives. Nevertheless, a literacy teacher's situation tends to be a lonely one. If he is not involved in community affairs, he is likely to become isolated, especially if he is without a colleague with whom he can discuss problems related to his work.

Our Classroom observation study indicates that reading instruction is strongly influenced by traditional methods. These methods are characterized by a synthetic approach. An eclectic orientation is introduced via the Primer. The Primer contains a methodological structure, which is likely to be of considerable assistance to teachers who generally lack formal professional training. By and large the methodological approach practised in Campaign Schools appears to be in tune with the prevailing situation, characterized by crowded classrooms, scantiness of material and teachers with minimal training. Scarcity of textbooks and lack of other reading materials force students to spend much time copying texts from the blackboard.

What has been said above about the literacy teacher's important role has some implications for the training of teachers. Literacy classes usually are fairly large, often with more than 50 students, and there are considerable variations in skills and knowledge among students. Consequently there is an obvious need to provide teachers with training in how to organize the classroom work.

At this point, the important function of school inspectors should also be stressed. The inspector forms the link between producers of instructional materials and the schools. He gives advice when special problems emerge in a school. Consequently his primary task is not one of controlling but one of advising and supporting teachers. School inspectors also serve as instructors at in-service courses for literacy teachers during their vacations. The YDLC policy to gather literacy teachers for in-service-training during holidays seems a profitable way of increasing the competence of teachers without incurring unreasonable costs.

We did not find support for the assumption that students with literate family members do better at school. Virtually no reading stimulance for neo-literates was found in the villages. Our impression is that the lack of reading materials was the same in literate and illiterate households, mainly owing to dire economical circumstances and the fact that reading materials were not available in the vicinity, even if people could have afforded to buy them. Level of literacy in our research areas was generally extremely low, from 2% to 7% with the exception of the Nejo area.

The present study covered areas widely separated geographically and with different ethnic backgrounds. Nevertheless, test results and responses to interview questions were quite similar among different areas. This indicates that many of the villages have the same kind of problems. Another important point is the homogenity in the life situation of individuals living in the same village.

In spite of the fact that the main target group for YDLC consisted of adults, a majority of participants in the Campaign during the time of this study were children. It is rather easy to understand why adults do not voluntarily join schools. For instance, they have to work all the time, many felt they were too old to learn, and many did not have the money to purchase schoolbooks. In our opinion, the main reason why adults stayed out of literacy schools was that they failed to see what tangible benefits education could offer them.

In a life filled with urgent responsibilities, the individual assigns priority to some tasks and considers others as less important. Evidently schooling does not rank high among the priorities of adults in the sample villages. At the same time, many adults declared it was important for children to attend school. Individuals apparently tend to view education for children in a different way from education for adults.

Rarely did individuals in our study state that they had experienced concrete benefits from their studies. They referred in a vague way to the value of education and to the knowledge that a person misses when he or she does not attend school. According to the interview responses the most fundamental effect of literacy is the ability to conduct one's own correspondence and to sign one's name. Even if these skills have a personal and status-improving value, it is evidently not sufficient to convince a majority of adults that attending school is necessary.

When we turn to women and schooling, the picture is even less encouraging. In the first place, women are required to know how to run a household and to cope with a multiplicity of chores Nothing of this was dealt with in the literacy classes. In addition the Primer completely ignores the situation of women and girls. Further, the content of the Primer is fragmentary and does not build on consistent themes. Even if the author of the Primer had the ambition to relate the text to a rural environment. villagers probably had trouble recognizing their own milieu

Learning to read and write should bring people into contact with techniques which make life less arduous and which improve people's standard of living. To run a school for its status value is a luxury which few developing countries can afford. The question of what is relevant knowledge has to be discussed at every level, and it is vital that villagers take an active part in this

With school administration tied to local institutions, the specific needs of a certain community might be more adequately met as educational content could be more appropriately chosen for the particular milieu. Nationwide measures are still needed in producing textbooks and training teachers. It is important that the teacher be a person who is familiar with the area and the ethnic groups where he is to work. If possible, he should also be involved in community affairs. This would enable him to point out cases where knowledge of school subjects could be of assistance for people in the villages. This would probably increase villagers' motivation for attending school.

YDLC operated at the grass-root level in the schools of rural Ethiopia. In Chapter 4 we have shown that low budget schools of the YDLC model can provide effects in terms of achievement in literacy skills. This is an important finding since it is of paramount importance for any agency involved in literacy activities to find out the optimal way of distributing scarce resources. An indication of the relevance of this model is that ECMY still is involved in literacy activities in spite of the fact that the literacy campaign of YDLC no longer exists as an independent body. They are cooperating with the government-initiated National Literacy Campaign which was launched in 1979. In this context the Church is assisting the campaign by providing teachers and inspectors. Efforts are also being made to provide village people with follow-up reading facilities.

The Campaign and the society

The previous pages have dealt with the initial part of our study, the efficiency of the Campaign in terms of student achievement over time, the teaching process and actual benefits for the individuals of their literacy skills. In the following pages, we will attempt to place the Campaign in a wider context and consider the political and economic structure in the society where the Campaign worked.

In our opinion, the content of education is as important as educational resources such as equipment and teachers. This is clearly supported by the results of our interview study which was presented in Chapter 6 . The issue of content should not be viewed solely from the point of view of student achievement and motivation. It is also necessary to pay attention to the political implications of educational content since every educational agency becomes a medium for transferring an implicit ideological message as well as subject matter.

Whether Campaign initiators were aware of it or not, the Campaign also became part of the societal system. The role a literacy campaign plays in a certain society is to a large extent determined by the content of education. What ideology, what message was conveyed to village people through the YDLC schools? This question is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Another channel for the ideological message inherent in the educational programme is the actual classroom process, as suggested in Chapter 5.

The Campaign objectives were to impart literacy skills and to promote economic and social development. In what way did the Campaign fulfil the latter goal? It was not possible for us to collect systematic data regarding this issue. However, our impression is that the Campaign facilitated implementation of local developmental programmes in many cases.

We have shown in the foregoing that the Campaign was working at a certain level of efficiency, and that the goal to teach people to read, write and calculate was attained. But educational efficiency alone is not sufficient to bring about changes in a society. The question is in which ways - if any - the Campaign promoted the learner's own consciousness of his or her socio-political situation.

It is clearly indicated that the YDLC's motives were to improve the situation of the rural masses, and certainly not to work in the interests of oppression and exploitation. However, YDLC was probably not aware of the system-preserving effects of education. It is also possible that the prevailing system was not perceived as fundamentally evil, but rather as something that was imperfect and which could be gradually and slowly improved and changed. As maintained in Chapter 7, YDLC's parent organization ECMY saw it as a proper Christian attitude to obey and cooperate with the secular power as far as God's law permitted.

What options were thereby available to YDLC? In the first place they could have refrained from engaging in education on the grounds of unwillingness to support an unjust polity. On the other hand the Church also felt a responsibility to spread the Christian Gospel and to alleviate immediate material needs - to work in the here and now. It is hard to see how the Church could have abstained from acting out its own faith.

Another hypothetical option for the Church would have been to try in a conscious and active way to make the Campaign a tool for systemic changes. For instance, the reading material could have been written in such a way to express critical political views. But more than this is necessary to create awareness. In any learning process, participants should also be encouraged to work actively with problems related to their own life situations. According to Freire (1970) education is a creative activity where individuals develop new ways of thinking and new consciousness about their life situation.

In all fairness, it must be remembered that YDLC operated in a given historical reality which effectively restricted its freedom of action. If the Campaign was to work at all, it had to obey rules set up by political powers. This immediately excluded the propagation of a critical political message or even of political neutrality. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, private educational agencies in Ethiopia were required to conform to official curricula.

Would it still have been possible to conduct YDLC in such a way that it had encouraged political consciousness? The historical situation in which the Campaign existed implies serious limitations. It was not possible to print materials freely, languages regulations were severe and the feudalistic system made it possible for local landlords or overseers to control the activities of tenants and to forbid them to attend school.

The limitations of the Campaign are many. Nevertheless, in bringing people in touch with an innovation such as the literacy school, YDLC probably facilitated the introduction of other development activities in the area.

The evaluative study - an appraisal

As stated in the introduction to this text, our way of looking at education and development has gradually changed during the period we have been working on the Ethiopian study. In particular, we have come to regard the purpose of evaluation from a different angle. In a study like the present, priority should be given to efforts to obtain critical knowledge about the campaign and its effects. Such information should create background for a constructive debate about the value of literacy campaigns in developing countries and the relevance of educational content. The ideological message should be identified and analysed in a societal context and other effects of literacy should be assessed than merely reading and writing skills. Ethiopia today is a different country than the one we met in 1974. As a result, new ideas and ideologies have probably been introduced in the villages. An important question to ask is whether or not people are now taking a more active part in education and other community activities than they did ten years ago. If they are, what has brought about these changes?

Today we would probably have started our work with the historical and political treatise, which has been attempted only in retrospect in the present study. Such an approach at the initial phase of a study would probably influence the identification of problems and choice of methods. The classroom process should be considered from other points of view than the strictly methodological. Whether students are treated as subjects or objects in their school situation is also an important issue, and it is related to educational content.

By and large, currently employed models of educational evaluation have their origins in the West. It is important to treat such models with caution when applying them in developing countries. Elzinga (1981) challenges evaluators of development programmes to reconsider their choice of approaches and methods inasmuch as these mirror Western values and ideals, including Western views on development. The modernization paradigm which has dominated Western thinking during the postwar period has influenced not only planning and implementation of development programmes but also their evaluation. The critical debate initiated largely by proponents of the dependency paradigm has also illuminated the need for alternative evaluation models. We share the opinion that it is high time for evaluators to start approaching their task from the development mode reflected in a certain programme rather than to base their approach on handbooks which generally reflect a functionalistic outlook. Critical discussion about what are to be considered the main goals for development is a necessary element of such an evaluative activity.

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APPENDICES

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Table 1. Number of students in each category of component skills and percentage of students passing the criteria, by time at school at first testing

Table 2. Data on hearing on part of sample

Table 3. Nutritional data on part of sample

Table 4. Data on eyesight on part of sample.

Data form participants (P)

Code No. Area School Student's Name

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	Date of visit	Age	Sex	Marital status	Date of enrolment at school	Date of quitting school	Reason for quitting school	Grade at 1st visit	Grade at last visit		No of absences	Reasons for being absent	Marks	Teacher's rating	Transportation to school	Distance to school	Religion	Urban	Rural	Languages	For children: How many children are there in your family?	For children: position among siblings	
		0-6 7-8 9-11 12-14 15-25 26-45 46-	Male Female	Unmarried Married Divorced separated Widow er Not stated											Walking Riding Other, viz	Kms Walking time	Orthodox Evangelical Muslim Other Not stated			First Second	Now living No of dead		
1																							
2																							
3																							
4																							
5																							

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	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
	Occupation adults	For children: parent's occupation	For married women: husband's occupation	Economic status	Social status	Distance from home to nearest market place	How often do you go to the market?	How many years have you been living in this village ?	Family ownership of land	Malnutrition	Eyesight	Hearing		No. of literates in your family excl. you	Who is / are literate in your family?	Have you attended any other school before?	
	Agriculture Cattle-breeding Trader Ind. worker Artisan Domestic worker Other, viz Not Stated	Agriculture Cattle-breeding Trader Ind. worker Artisan Domestic worker Other, viz Not Stated	Agriculture Cattle-breeding Trader Ind. worker Artisan Domestic worker Other, viz Not Stated	High Medium Low	High Medium Low	Kms Walking time	Weekly Monthly Yearly	0 - 1 2 - 5 6 -	Tills own land Tenants Farm-hands No. of [illegible] owned	Yes No	Normal Subnormal	Normal Subnormal			Father Mother Sister Brother Other, viz	Priest school Other VDLC school Govt. school Mission school Other, viz None	
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	

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Code No.

Student's Name

	41											42				43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
	Marks Reading test											Marks Arithmetic test				Marks for Reading & Arithmetic tests							
	Letter recogn.	Word recogn.	Reading aloud	Copying	Signature	Dictation	Vocabulary	Sentences, O. & C.	True / False. Readers 1-3	Cloze test	Total	Concepts	Computation	Application	Total	Grand Total							
1																							
2																							
3																							
4																							
5																							

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	Date of visit	Age	Sex	Marital status	Father's occupation	Family ownership of land	Social status	Qualifications: No. of years at school excl. TTI	Teacher's training	Years of service	Attitude towards teaching in LC-school	Subjects taught	Home district	Languages	Attitudes towards this investigation	Relations to parents and school-committee	Salary per month, $	Other benefits	Voluntary teacher	Working hours	Teacher with no formal qualifications	Teacher's religion	
		- 15 16 - 20 21 - 25 26 -	Male Female	Unmarried Married Divorced/separated Widow/er Not stated	Agriculture Cattle breeding Trader Ind. worker Artisan Domestic worker Other Not stated	Title own land Tenants Farm-hands No. of gashes owned	High Medium Low		1 year 2 years Insp. training		Positive Neith. pos. nor neg Negative			First Second	Positive Neith. pos. nor neg Negative	Good Neith. good nor bad Bad				Full-time Part-time Evening time			
1																							
2																							
3																							
4																							
5																							

Data form, Schools (S)

Code No. **Area** **School**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	Date of visit	No of classes	Grades	No of students	No of students in class as selected	No of teachers	Education of most qualified teacher	Students' fees $	Local school committee	School building	School garden	School latrine	Water supply at school	Special classes for adults	Equipment other than blackboard	If yes, specify this equipment	Follow up materials	If yes, specify the follow up materials	When was the school started?	Distance to nearest other school	Road to the village	If yes, specify	ECMY congregation in the village	Predominant religion in the village's	Languages in the village's	Recreation facilities at school	
				Male, children Female, children Male, adults Female, adults Total	Male, children Female, children Male, adults Female, adults Total				Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No		Yes No			Kms Walking time	Yes No	All weather Dry season	Yes No	Orthodox Evangelical Muslim Other Not stated	First Second	Playground	
1																											
2																											
3																											
4																											
5																											

YDLC EVALUATION

INTERVIEWS

PP Questionnaire Participants

Date .... from .... to ....

Identification

a) name ....

b) code number ....

c) mother tongue ....

1. Which subject do you like best at school? ....

2. And why do you like this subject so well? ....

   IF R ANSWERS "IT'S EASY" PROBE FOR REASONS ....

3. Usually there are subjects that the students find difficult. Is there any subject that you find difficult? ....

4. And what makes this subject difficult do you think? ....

5. It is difficult to get books around here. Have you been able to read any books besides the books you use in school? ....

   IF YES: HOW DID YOU GET THEM? ....

6. What books did you read then? ....

7. What books would you like to read:
   a) religious books
   b) books in which you can read about useful things like better farming methods or how to take care of your health? ....

   IF R CHOOSES BOTH ASK WHICH COMES FIRST? ....

8. What do you think you will be doing after finishing this school?.

9. There are many people who live quite near the school, but yet do not join. What reasons do you think they have for not joining the school? ....

10. Sometimes students are absent from classes. In your opinion what are the main reasons for this? ....

11. What do you think that someone would lose by not going to school? ....

12. If there were no obstacles how much schooling do you think you should have? ....

    USE PROBE TO OBTAIN NUMBER OF YEARS.

13. What would you like to become after having finished the.....grade?

    ....

Code number .... PP 2

14. There are many people who do not speak Amharic in our country. In schools, however, students learn to read in Amharic even if they do not speak that language themselves. Would it be better, do you think, if the students started to learn to read in their own language and later went on to learn to read Amharic? ....

PROBE FOR REASONS FOR CHOICE OF ALTERNATIVE ....

15. Many people in this country do not speak Amharic. Do you think it is necessary for everyone to learn Amharic? ....

WHY/WHY NOT?..

16. There are many more boys than girls in (our) schools. What would you say were the main reasons for this? ....

17. Let us say that Abebe who is 15 years old has gone to school for three years and has learnt to read and write well. As you see it should he:

a) stay where he is and try to improve his environment

b) go to a town to join some other school

c) move to a town or a city to find a job

PROBE FOR NUMBERS OF YEARS AND TYPE OF EDUCATION ....

18. Some students go to school for some time but later quit altogether without having learnt to read and write well. Why do you think this happens? ....

19. Which subject do you think is the most important to learn? ..

20. Why do you think this subject is the most important to learn?

....

21. Are you (have you been) teaching someone to read? ....

22. IF YES: who? ....

APPENDIX E

YDLC EVALUATION

INTERVIEWS

PM, 501-599 People in the Milieu

Date .... from .... to ....

Place ....

Identification

a) name ....

b) code number ....

c) can read only ....

d) can read and write ....

e) illiterate ....

1. Suppose you had been lucky enough to get an education of say 6 years (or more). In that case what do you think you would have been doing now? ....

   PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ANSWERS.

2. Suppose a man has a young son about to begin school. The man is too poor to keep his son in school for more than a few years. Here are some subjects the boy might study in school. Which subject do you think is most important for the boy to learn?

   a) to learn to read and write well

   b) to read religious books

   c) to learn a useful trade

   IF R CHOOSES MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE ASK WHICH COMES FIRST.

3. Some people say that a son should try to find a better type of work than his father does. Others say that a son should usually be proud of the same work as his father. What is your opinion?

   ....

   PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ANSWERS, E.G. WHAT KIND OF BETTER JOB?

4. A poor farmer has only one son aged 10 years and greatly needs the son's fulltime help in cultivation. But the son wishes to continue to attend school rather than working fulltime. What should the father decide on this question? ....

   IF R SAYS "BOTH" ASK: WHICH SHOULD HIS SON GIVE HIS MAIN ATTENTION TO: WORK FOR FATHER/CONTINUE IN SCHOOL?

   PROBE FOR REASONS FOR CHOICE OF ALTERNATIVE.

5. If there were no obstacles how much schooling (reading and writing) do you think children of people like you should have?

   USE PROBE TO OBTAIN NUMBER OF YEARS ....

Code number .... PM 2

6. What would you then like your children to become after having finished their education?

   Boys: ....

   Girls: ....

7. Not many grown-up people around here are able to read and write. What would you say that a farmer (factory worker, day labourer etc) (like you) would gain if he became literate?

   PROBE FOR SPECIFIC SUGGESTION. ....

8. It is a wellknown fact that many parents in this country do not send their children to school, even when there is a school nearby. I should think that they have good reasons. What would you say that their reasons for not sending their children to school were? ....

9. Some people say that education is not as important for women as for men. Would you have any suggestion as to why they think so?

   ....

   PROBE FOR REASONS FOR OPINION. ....

10. As you know there are very few adults who go to school (night school) to learn to read and write, compared to the number of children who go to school. Why do you think that is so? ......

11. Do you/did you go to a night school? ....

    WHY/WHY NOT? ....

12. Did you ask your parents to let you go to school when you were a child? ....

    WHY/WHY NOT? ....

13. There are many more boys than girls in our schools. What would you say were the main reasons for this? ....

14. Some parents are quite eager to send their children to school. Why do you think they are so keen on getting education for their children? ....

15. What books would you like to read (if you were literate):

    a) religious books

    b) books in which you can read about useful things like better farming methods or how to take care of your health ....

    IF R CHOOSES BOTH ASK WHICH COMES FIRST.

16. Let us say that Abebe who is 15 years old has gone to school for three years and has learnt to read and write well. As you see it, should he:

    a) stay where he is and try to improve his environment

    b) go to a town to join some other school

    c) move to a town or a city to find a job

    PROBE FOR NUMBERS OF YEARS AND TYPE OF EDUCATION ....

Code number .... PM 3

17. Do you know about someone who has not gone to school, but yet knows how to read and write? ....

18. Who then taught him (her, them)? ....

19. (If you were to become literate) do you think you should teach someone else to read? ....

IF YES: WHO WOULD YOU START WITH? ....

20. IF YES: Why would you teach someone else? ....

21. Do you think it is as important for girls as for boys to go to school? ....

WHY/WHY NOT? ....

22. Sometimes students are absent from classes. In your opinion what are the main reasons for this? ....

23. Some students go to school for some time but later quit altogether without having learnt to read and write (well). Why do you think this happens? ....

24. Not many adults in this neighbourhood know how to read and write. What in your opinion do they lose by not being literate? PROBE FOR SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS. ....

25. Could you tell me what are the biggest problems you see facing your community (village etc)? ....

PROBE: WHICH IS THE BIGGEST PROBLEM? ....

26. There are many people who do not speak Amharic in our country. In schools, however, students learn to read in Amharic even if they do not speak that language themselves. Would it be better, do you think, if the students started to learn to read in their own language and later went on to learn to read Amharic? ......

PROBE FOR REASONS FOR CHOICE OF ALTERNATIVE. ....

27. Many people in this country do not speak Amharic. Do you think it is necessary for everyone to learn Amharic? ....

WHY/WHY NOT? ....

28. Do you send your child/children to school? ....

IF YES, WHO? (BOYS, GIRLS, AGE) ....

WHY/WHY NOT? ....

APPENDIX F

YDLC EVALUATION

INTERVIEWS

FP, 201-299	Former Participants
DO, 301-399	Drop-outs
NP, 401-499	Non-participants

Date .... from .... to ....

Place ....

Identification

a) name ....

b) code number ....

c) ☐ Former participant ☐ Drop-out ☐ Non-participant

d) involvement in community affairs ....

1. If there were no obstacles how much schooling (reading and writing) do you think people like you should have? ....

   USE PROBE TO OBTAIN NUMBER OF YEARS.

2. What would you then like to become after having finished the .....grade? ....

3. Let us say that Abebe who is 15 years old has gone to (this) school for three years and has learnt to read and write well. As you see it, should he:

   a) stay where he is and try to improve his environment

   b) go to a town to join some other school

   c) move to a town or a city to find a job

   PROBE FOR NUMBER OF YEARS AND TYPE OF EDUCATION. ....

DO FP 4. You went to school for some time. What made you join school in the first place? ....

FP 5. What made you continue going to school once you had started? ....

DO FP 6. Have you experienced any benefits from your schooling in your daily life? ....

PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ANSWERS.

DO FP 7. It is hard to get books around here. Have you been able to read any books besides the books you used in school? ....

IF YES: HOW DID YOU GET THEM? ....

DO FP 8. What books have you read then? ....

DO FP 9. Is there any subject that you think should have been taught more in school? ....

IF YES: WHAT SUBJECT? ....

DO FP 10. And why do you think that this subject should have been taught more? ....

DO FP 11. Is there any subject that you think should have been taught less in school? ....

IF YES: WHAT SUBJECT? ....

DO FP 12. An why do you think this subject should have been taught less? ....

DO FP 13. Have you been teaching someone to read? ....

PROBE: ARE YOU AT PRESENT TEACHING SOMEONE TO READ? ....

DO FP 14. Who then have you been teaching to read? ....

PROBE: WHO ARE YOU AT PRESENT TEACHING? ....

15. There are many people who live quite near a school but still do not join. What reasons do you think they have? ....

16. What benefits do you expect from education?
PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ANSWERS. ....

17. Do you know about someone who has not gone to school, but still knows how to read (and write)?

IF YES: WHO? ....

18. Who taught him (her, them)? ....

19. According to your opinion should a literate person try to teach someone else to read? ....

20. IF YES: Why? ....

21. Who then should he start with? ....

22. What do you think someone (like you) would lose by not going to school? ....

23. I would think that people who leave school without having fully learnt to read and write have some good reasons for this. Could you suggest some reasons people might have for quitting school?

....

DO 24. Could you tell me something about your reasons for quitting school? ....

25. Sometimes students are absent from classes. In your opinion what are the main reasons for this? ....

26. What books would you like to read:

a) religious books

b) books in which you can read about useful things like better farming methods or how to take care of your health
IF R CHOOSES BOTH ASK WHICH COMES FIRST ....

27. There are many more boys than girls in (our) schools. What would you say were the main reasons for this? ....

APPENDIX G

YDLC EVALUATION

INTERVIEWS

SM The school and its Milieu

Date .... from .... to ....

Identification

a) name of the school ....
b) code number ....
c) administrative region ....
d) Awradja ....
e) Worreda ....
f) information provided by (position) ....
g) informant's involvement in community affairs ....

1. Physical features of the school
    a) overall measurements ....
    b) number of classrooms ....
    c) building material ....
    d) roofing ....
    e) flooring ....
    f) lighting ....
    g) seating arrangements ....
    h) location, e.g. isolated, in the village etc ....
    i) distance to nearest habitation ....

2. Is there a school-committee for this school? ....

3. How many members are there then in the school-committee? .....

4. How often does the school-committee meet? ....

5. Where does the school-committee meet? ....

6. Who is chairman of the school-committee (position)? ....

7. When was this school started? (European calendar, year and month) ....

8. Who took the initiative to start the school (position)? ......

9. Who provided the site for the school (position)? ....

10. Who provided the school-house? ....

11. Who have been responsible for running the school up to now? ..

12. Who is at present responsible for running the school? ....

Code number .... SM 2

13. According to your opinion what are the most difficult problems concerning the school that you have been confronted with in the past? IF THE ANSWER IS "NONE" ASK FOR WHAT HAS BEEN LEAST SATISFYING. ....

14. How were these problems tackled? ....

15. What is currently your most urgent problem in connection with the school? IF THE ANSWER IS "NONE" ASK FOR WHAT IS LEAST SATISFYING. ....

16. What measures should be taken to solve these problems? ....

17. Were there any people opposed to starting the school? ....

18. IF YES: Who? ....

19. Why then were they opposed to starting a school? ....

20. In what way then did they work against the school? ....

21. What is (are) the most common occupation(s) in this village (neighbourhood, community)? ....

22. What is (are) the most important crop(s) in this village (neighbourhood, community)? ....

23. What is the staple food in this village (neighbourhood, community)? ....

24. What is the most important produce for marketing in this village (neighbourhood, community)? ....

25. Where do you sell your produce (name of place and distance)?
....

26. What are the most common diseases in this village (neighbourhood, community)? ....

27. Has there been any efforts to control this (these) disease(s) in your village? ....

IF YES: WHAT? ....

28. Could you tell me what are the biggest problems you see facing your community (village)? ....

PROBE: WHAT IS THE BIGGEST PROBLEM? ....

29. Has anything been done to solve this (these) problem(s)? ......

IF YES: WHAT? ....

30. What do you think could be done? ....

Special notes: ....

Appendix H

[illegible] EVALUATION

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Grade.............. ....School.........................Observer.......................

Date.......................Time from...........to.........

SECTION/TIME INTERVAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A. ORGANIZATION												
B. READING ACTIVITY												
C. READING METHOD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Fidel drill												
2. Features of fidels												
3. Fidels to words												
4. Words to fidels												
5. Whole words												
6. Words to sentences												
7. Sentences to words												
8. Whole sentences												
9. Paragraphs												
10. Grammar												
11. Vernacular												
12. Translation												
D. READING AIDS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Blackboard												
2. Picture-primer												
3. Picture-other												
4. Drawing												
5. Model												
6. Object												
7. Other												
E. WRITING ACTIVITY												
F. WRITING AID												
G. WRITING CONTENT												
H. PRIMER 1-4												

I. HOMEWORK...

J. MATERIAL COVERED..

K. COMMENTS...

....

....

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CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

DATA TO BE REGISTERED AT OBSERVATION VISITS

I IDENTIFICATION

1. Date of visit ....
2. School ....
3. Grade ....

II TEACHER

4. Age ....
5. Sex ....
6. Education ....
7. Experience ....

III STUDENTS

8. No. on roll M......F......
9. No. present M......F......
10. No. absent M......F......
11. No. of adults present M......F......

IV SCHOOL

12. Type of building (material, other functions etc) ....

13. Location (town, village, isolated) ....

V CLASSROOM

14. Wall-to-wall measurements ....
15. Lighting ....
16. Noise from surroundings ....
17. Seating arrangement ....
18. Equipment other than blackboard ....

VI GENERAL COMMENTS

....

YDLC EVALUATION

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

CODE KEY

A. ORGANIZATION

1. Class - teacher assistance
2. Class - no teacher assistance
3. Individual - teacher assistance

B. READING ACTIVITY

1. Oral
2. Silent

E. WRITING ACTIVITY

1. Copy from blackboard, chart
2. Copy from primer
3. Dictation
4. Composition
5. Other

F. WRITING AID

1. Blackboard
2. Notebook
3. Slate

G. WRITING CONTENT

1. Fidels
2. Words
3. Sentences
4. Paragraph

H. PRIMER

1. YDLC
2. Ministry of Education
3. Zemetcha
4. Other

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

GUIDELINES FOR THE USE OF THE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

I. RECORDING ENTRIES

1. Items (C 1-10, D 1-7)

Record an activity whenever it takes place, if only once during an observation period. In the course of one and the same observation period, more than one activity in a section e.g. Reading Method, may take place and should then be filed accordingly. An observed activity should be recorded regardless of how short its duration. If an activity exceeds one observation period it is to be taken down again for the following period, and for any number of periods it is manifested during the observation session. Entries are made by checks (✓).

2. Categories (A, B, E, F, G, H)

For each category record the activity that takes up most or all of an observation period. If for instance within the section of Organization, class - teacher assistance takes up most or all of an observation period, enter the appropriate number (1) in the cell intended for that period.

3. Primer (H), Homework (I)

Information on Primer and Homework is recorded only once, after the end of an observation session.

II. NOTES ON THE RECORDING OF CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS

1. ORGANIZATION (A)

1.1 Class - teacher assistance

The teacher addresses, instructs, asks and answers questions involving the whole class or momentarily individuals. The teacher is primarily concerned with the entire class. The teacher initiates, supervises and calls off class activities, implying that he need not necessarily be actively and visibly performing all the time. He may for instance be listening to a recitation or watching a silent reading session.

1.2 Class - no teacher assistance

The class is engaged on its own in activities that may or may not be started by the teacher. The teacher is not supervising or in any other way taking part in classroom work. The teacher is not present in the classroom.

1.3 Individual - teacher assistance

The teacher is actively concentrating on individual students, while the remainder of the class is in principle excluded from his immediate attention.

2. READING METHOD (C)

2.1 Fidel drill

The instruction is focused on series of fidels or on isolated fidels. The most frequent activity however, is expected to be the chanting of series of fidels. No reference is made to the physical characteristics of the fidels.

2.2 Features of fidels

Physical features of the fidels are dealt with in an explicit way.

2.3 Fidels to words

Fidels are combined as to form words in accordance with a synthetic method.

2.4 Words to fidels

Words are broken down into fidels in line with the analytic approach.

2.5 Whole words

Words are treated as units without reference to fidels. Neither is there any concern with the next larger units i.e. sentences.

2.6 Words to sentences

Words are combined to form sentences.

2.7 Sentences to words

Sentences are decomposed into words.

2.8 Sentences

Sentences are attacked as isolated units. No attention is paid to lesser units i.e. words or to larger units such as a paragraph.

3. WRITING ACTIVITY (E)

3.1 Composition

By Composition is intended any "free writing" irrespective of the amount of text produced. So for instance should writing sentences based on key words be classified as composition.

III UNCERTAINTY

If it is difficult to decide which aspect of a certain category or which item is relevant in a given situation, put a question mark in the most likely cell(s). Then make an explanatory note in the space provided for Comments.

Classroom protocol

Date: 21 November 1975

School: 4.2

Subject: Amharic reading

Locality: outside a farmer's hut

Students: 12 boys in 2 groups

Teacher: 25 years old, male, 4 years of schooling

Material: 3 books shared by all the students.

Activities: They start by reading aloud. Since all of them cannot see the page some are playing and talking. The teacher is listening. The largest group seem to be reading from Primer 1. page 1. Two boys are reading a more advanced text from Primer 3.

The teacher chases away a small kid, which does not belong to any of the students. One late student joins the advanced group. The teacher concentrates on the beginners. They read in chorus. One of the students points at the pictures, words and fidels as the others read. Occasionally one of the students in the advanced group reads out a passage alone, whereupon the others repeat it. The system of monitors seems to be utilized.

The beginners repeat the same word many times. They read the first page over again many times. But they cannot have started on it today, since they seem to know the words (by heart?). Maybe the teacher is giving them a page they already know in order to give a good impression.

Sometimes the beginners read the words in parts (fidels). I see some of the small ones "reading" the words from page 1 without looking at the text. They have now been practising these words for 30 minutes. The teacher is very passive. Maybe the few children who own a book are the only ones to know how to read. Alemo asked one of them why they stuck to page 1 all the time. He answered: "Because one of the boys does not know it yet!".

Yet one late student arrives and joins the advanced group. The teacher's activities seems to be limited to hitting some unconcentrated student on the top of his head with a stick.

After about 50 minutes without any changes in activities the lesson ended.

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Classroom protocol

Date: 7 April 1976

School: 2.2

Grade: 1

Subject: Amharic

Teacher: Male teacher, 18 years old, 11 years' schooling, 7 months' experience of teaching

Students: 43 boys and 7 girls, including 2 male adults

Equipment: Only 16 students have books.

15.09 Students read after teacher from YDLC Primer p 1. Two students standing together with the teacher repeat after him. First single isolated fidels, then words. New page, students repeat aloud after teacher.

15.12 Students repeat after teacher. Interfering noise from class singing in the same room. New page, same activity. Teacher uses small stick to point out letters in book.

15.15 Same pattern. Single students and group of six repeat after teacher.

15.18 Same pattern, group of two. Class idles, looking at singing class, chatting in a small voice. New page.

15.21 Same pattern. One student repeats. No use of blackboard. One new student repeats on new page. One page per student. it seems.

15.24 Two students repeat from new page. One student repeats from new page. One more student joins him. This student now repeats on his own. First student returns to seat. Teacher reads aloud, fast, with almost no stops.

15.27 Women enters classroom. Teacher tells her to leave. One student repeats.

15.30 Teacher calls two students and they repeat together. Teacher announces that object drawn on page in book is going to be read out aloud. One student repeats, word by word. Reading even in sentences? Teacher announces object on new page. Checks if students have this page, it seems, or maybe checks if they are prepared to read it. One student repeats.

15.33 Same pattern. Teacher inquires about page in reader. One student gets light raps by stick. One student (the same one?) repeats.

15.36 One student reads. Bell goes.

APPENDIX J

List of instruments, instructions and guidelines for the YDLC evaluation, constructed during 1974-1976

Amharic Reading test

Amharic Reading test, translated in English

Arithmetic test in Amharic

Introduction of tests, "purpose of testing"

Guidelines for the administration of the literacy test (reading and arithmetic) in English

Guidelines as above in Amharic

Guidelines as above in Oromigna

Supplementary direction for oral reading

Literacy test, short version for interviews

Guidelines for scoring reading and arithmetic tests

Classroom observation schedule

Interview schedule, PM

Interview schedule, DO, FP, NP

Interview schedule, PP

Interview schedule, SM

Data form, PM

Data form, DO, FP, NP

Data form, PP

Data form, teachers

Data form, school

Follow up questions at last field visit

Guidelines for using data forms

Introduction to interviews

TABLES

Table 1. Number of students in each category of component skills and percentage of students passing the criteria, by time at school at the first testing session.

Category of component skills	Time at school at the first testing session 1975							
	1-8 months		9-16 months		17-24 months		25-60 months	
	N	% pass	N	% pass	N	% pass	N	% pass
△ Breaking the code	268	38	85	70	43	84	53	83
○ Write	269	33	85	48	43	74	53	75
● Reading comprehension	268	27	87	39	43	44	53	49
□ Reading comprehension, advanced	266	13	85	25	43	35	53	30
▲ Arithmetic	262	38	87	62	43	81	52	81

Table 2. Data on hearing on part of sample.

	No.	%
Repeats correctly1)	171	95.0
Unable to repeat correctly	9	5.0
Total	180	100.0

1) Respondents were asked to repeat words whispered or pronounced in a low voice from a distance of 4 metres. Only the best ear is considered.

Table 3. Nutritional data on part of sample.

	No.	%
Below 80% of Standard	69	20.1
Above 80% of Standard	274	79.9
Total	343	100.0

Nutritional data are based on weight for height using values derived from Harvard Standards. (Jelliffe, D.B., *The assessment of the nutritional status of the community*. Geneva: World Health Organization, 1966).

Table 4. Data on eyesight on part of sample.

Visual acuity	No	%
20/20 on best eye	110	59.1
Less than 20/20 on best eye	76	40.9
Total	186	100.0